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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MAY MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting was read and approved, and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the month.

The President appointed as members of the Committee from the Society at large, authorized by a vote passed at the Annual Meeting,¹ the following-named gentlemen: Henry P. Walcott, Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and T. Jefferson Coolidge.

Rev. EDWARD J. YOUNG communicated his memoir of the late Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody.

Dr. Samuel A. Green presented, in behalf of Mr. JOHN T. MORSE, Jr., who was absent, the memoir of Oliver Wendell Holmes, D. C. L., prepared by Mr. Morse for publication in the Proceedings.

Communications from the Third Section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said: —

A number of years ago I detached from the Winthrop Papers and gave to the Essex Institute at Salem some manuscripts of great importance relating to the early history of Ipswich, which seemed to me desirable to preserve permanently in the county of Essex, where they would naturally be most valued and appreciated. This has led to a recent application to me from the local Historical Society at Ipswich, — a Society

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. x. p. 585.

which, I am glad to learn, is now in a flourishing condition,—for an autograph letter of John Winthrop, Jr., the founder of that ancient town. There are in existence numerous letters of his written either in Connecticut or in Europe, but few of his Ipswich letters have been preserved, and the dates of these latter, as a rule, are accompanied by no name of place. I succeeded, however, in finding one dated “Agawam, July 20, 1634,” and in accordance with the rule long ago established by my father and self that any unpublished material from the Winthrop Papers should be at the disposal of this Society before original manuscripts were given elsewhere, I now communicate this letter, which is of little importance other than in its reference to the needs of the infant settlement, and a scheme of the writer for exchanging beaver-skins for goats. I similarly communicate and intend to give to the same local Society a curious inventory of personal effects left at Ipswich by John Winthrop, Jr., some six months later, when, after the death of his first wife, he had gone to England on colonial business. To students of domestic life in New England at that very early period it is a document well worthy of attention; and it bears the endorsement of John Winthrop the elder, who appears to have caused it to be prepared in his son’s absence, and whose diary contains an account of the latter’s shipwreck on the coast of Ireland not long afterward.

I take this opportunity also to communicate a wholly different letter, which would have been printed at least fifteen years ago but for its accidental disappearance. Mr. Smith and I were then engaged on the first of the three volumes of selections from these papers, which we successively edited for the Society; and in it (5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii.) we took pains to include all the letters of Stephen Winthrop known by us to exist, with the exception of a few trivial ones. There has recently come to light, however, a noteworthy letter of his, formerly put aside by my father for the purpose of publication, and then forgotten. It is dated in London, July 29, 1647, and contains a short but graphic account of the dissensions prevailing between Parliament and the Army, together with a detailed statement of the reasons which induced the writer to continue in command of a troop of horse under Cromwell, instead of returning to Boston according to his original intention. My father’s life of

John Winthrop was written five-and-thirty years ago, and he was then unable to explain how it happened that a younger son of the Governor, who had twice visited Europe on purely commercial errands, should have without apparent reason embraced a military career, in which he subsequently attained considerable distinction. This letter furnishes the needed explanation.

The papers communicated by Mr. Winthrop here follow:—

JOHN WINTHROP, JR., TO HIS FATHER.

To the right worth my much honored father John Winthrop Esq. dd in Boston.

S^r—I have cast up the accout of the remainder w^{ch} is yet behind of the goods that M^r Kirby sent over; it amounteth to 44^{li} 14^s, whereof the 3^d p^{te} deducted there remaineth 29^{li} 16^s to be returned for England, w^{ch} is to be equally divided betwixt my uncle Downing & M^r Kirby. I pray be pleased to send a bill for the s^d 29^{li} 16^s to M^r Kirby to be receieved of my uncle Downing wth directions to him to pay himselfe his owne third part. I have to this purpose written to M^r Kirby to rec^t it & sent him a full account of all things.

I understand that a Virginia pinnace hath brought over many goats, if you please I would desire you to buy some of hir goats for some of these trucking coats if he will exchange; they may be valued I thinke at about 20^s a coat pt.¹ It may be he would take all the other things. They stand in above 44^{li}, I thinke they may be vallued altogether at about 60^{li} or dearer if his goats be deare.

I received some corne by John Gallop, I thanke you for it. I understand by him that you would have bought some English meale for me, but I pray doe not, for if you please to send me corne my mē shall beate it if I cannot have some ground; only I desire to have 2 or 3 bushell ground if it can be because I have borrowed some on cōdition to pay in meale againe. If any pinnace come I pray be pleased to remēber us wth some munition ordnance, muskets, carbines, pikes & such as are to be had.

Thus wth my duty & my wives to your selfe and my mother, saluting my brothers, cozens & freinds, I humbly take my leave & rest

Your obedient son,

AGAWAM, July 20: 1634.

JOHN WINTHROP.

Indorsed by Gov. Winthrop: "Sonne Winth: about the trading stuffe."

¹ The word "coats" is used for beaver and other skins. See letters from Francis Kirby to John Winthrop, Jr., in Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, 3d series, vol. ix. Kirby was a merchant in London who was actively interested in forwarding supplies to New England. His wife was sister to Emmanuel Downing.

An Inventorie of M^r Winthropps goods of Ipswitch.

Imp^ra; In the Cham^r ov^r the Parlor 1 feath^r bed 1 banckett 1 cov^r-
lett 1 blew rugg 1 boster & 2 pillowes

¶ 1 trunck marked wth R W F¹ wherein is

1 mantle of silk wth gld lace

1 holland tablecloth some 3 yds loung

1 pr *///* holl (twilled holland?) sheets

1 pillobear half full of childs linning etc²

5 childs blanketts whereof 1 is bare million [vermilion?]

1 cushion for a child of chamlett

1 cours table cloth 3 y^{ds} long

6 croscloths & 2 gnaves (?)

9 childs bedds (beeds?) 2 duble clouts 1 p^r holl sleeves

4 apons whereof 1 is laced

2 smocks 2 p^r sheets 1 napkin

1 whit square chest wherein is

1 doz dyp (diaper?) napkins 1 damsk napkin

1 doz holl napkins

2 doz & 2 napkins

2 cuberd cloths

11 pillowbeares

11 *///* (twilled?) napkins

2 table cloths

4 towills

1 *///* holl shirt

2 dyp towills

3 dyp table cloths

1 p^r *///* holl sheets

1 long great chest where in is

1 black gowne tam'y [taminy, a sort of woollen cloth]

1 gowne sea greene

1 childs baskett

2 old petticotts 1 red [*illeg.*] 1 sand coll^r serg

1 p^r leath^r stockins 1 muff

1 window cushion

5 quishion cases 1 small pillowe

1 peece stript linsy woolcy

1 p^r boddyes

¹ The initials were probably A. W. F. (Anne Winthrop Fones, mother of Mrs. John Winthrop, Jr.).

² The child repeatedly referred to in this inventory was the little daughter of John Winthrop, Jr., who, with her mother, had died in Ipswich not long before.

1 tapstry cov^rlett
 1 peece lininge stuff for curtins
 1 red bayes cloake for a woman
 1 p^r of sheets

In the Cham^r ov^r the kychin

1 feath^r bed 1 boster 1 pillowe 2 blanketts 2 ruggs bl & w^t
 2 floq bedds 5 ruggs 2 bolsters 1 pillowe
 1 broken warming-pan

In the Garrett Cham^r ov^r the Storehowse
 maney small things glasses potts &c

In the Parlor

1 bedsted 1 trundle bedsted wth curtins & vallences
 1 table & 6 stooles
 1 muskett 1 small fowleing peece wth rest & bandeleer
 # 1 trunke of pewter
 # 1 cabbinett wherein the servants say is
 rungs (rings?) iewills 13 silv^r spoones this I cannot open
 # 1 cabbinett of Surgerie

In the kytchin

1 brass baking pan
 5 milk pans
 1 small pestle & mortar
 1 steele mill
 14 musketts rests & bandealers
 2 iron kettles 2 copp^r 2 brasse kettles
 1 iron pott
 2 bl jacks
 2 skillitts whereof 1 is brasse
 4 poringors
 1 spitt 1 grat^r
 1 p^r racks 1 p^r andirnes 1 old iron rack
 1 iron pole 1 grediron 1 p^r tongs
 2 brass ladles 1 pr bellowes
 2 stills wth bottums

In M^r Wards hands¹

1 silv^r cupp 6 spoones 1 salt of silver

In the ware howse

2 great chests naled upp
 1 chest 1 trunk w^{ch} I had ord^r not to open

¹ Evidently Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich.

1 chest of tooles
 # 6 cowes 6 steeres 2 heiffers
 # dyv^{rs} peeces of iron & steele.

P^r me WILL CLARKE

Indorsed by Gov. John Winthrop: "Innyer (?) of my sones goods [*illeg.*]."

STEPHEN WINTHROP TO HIS FATHER.

LONDON, 29 July 1647.

SIR, — It hath pleased God to [thwart] all my purposes & endeavours to come back to N: E: at p^rsent. Neither my unckle¹ nor myselfe can find out any means to sattisfie o^r credito^{rs} though they are not many. We have had hopes by sundry means & p^{sons} but still they faile us; & they will not consent to o^r goeing to N: E: so y^t it is meerly y^e hand of God to stay me. My hartt was as fully carried to goe in this shipp as ever to anything, but I desire to submitt to y^e will of God, as I hope yo^rself & all to whom I am related desire to doe. Things standing thus & P^rvidence opening a way of imploy^{mt} in y^e Army, I have accepted of it seeing noe dore open to me anywhere else of being serviceable in my generation or of gaining better subsistance to those God hath comitted to my care, & hope I shall not be lesse inabled to be a comfort or helpe to yo^r selfe, my mother & brethren. The kingdom is now upō a great turne. God is doing some great worke, for when the Adversarys were wth all violance setting up injustice & psecution of the saints it pleased God by the Army to put them to a stand & quite turned the buyas of their pceedings, so farre as y^t they daylie unvote what formerly they did vote & are contented to have y^e House purged, y^e heads of y^t faccōn impeached & suspended, & suddenly will come to triall. By y^e passingers & books you will have y^e pticulars at larg. I thank God I am free in my spirit to ingag in w^t y^e Army hath ppounded, & indeed the gen^rallity of the honest p^{te} in y^e countyes & cittyes, so y^t I question not but y^t there wilbe a psperous & speedy effect of their just endeavours. A committy of Parl^{mt} & Citty are wth y^e Army upō treaty, but not fully concluded. Things standing thus I think it is my duty to send for my wife & waite w^t God in his P^rvidence may sorte out for me. I am not borne for my selfe & if I may be serviceable & fervid in a way of advancing God's kingdome it is all I desire & I shall not question but God will pvide for mee. I desire y^e litle I have in N: E: may be improved upō my land there. I desire not to draw any thing backe more then may pay my debts. I desire one of my children may stay wth you & I am confident y^t God will either dispose of things so as I shall come to you againe, or else y^t you & many others will have a call hither. I can say no more

¹ Emmanuel Downing, then in England on business.

but y^t I am willing his will should be done, however hard to flesh & blood. I hope y^e Country will make me some recompence for y^e mony I have been out in their deffence ag^t y^e Auldman.¹ Cambridge men oweth me 65^s long since, wth I hope they make conscience to pay, for I held no p^t of the shipp. If M^r Anger be not sattisfied I shalbe willing to respit it, so it be settled by some bill of their hand &c. I have nought else to enlarg upō. I have more need than ever of yo^r prayers & blessing, & pray rember my respects to o^r Elders & friends & sattisfie wth cause of my stay so farre as is meet, & I pray put my brother Adam in mind of M^r Dixon his buisnes. My service to y^r Mag^{strs} & all my acquaintance; it is my grief I cannot be wth them. They are all well at Groton & Chemsye House. I know not w^t to write more but again & again to crave yo^r prayer y^t I may live to y^e honor of God, ye comfort of my relations, & ever remaine

Yo^r dutifull sonne,

ST. WINTHROP.

M^r Ward hath made himselfe odious & rediculous heere by books & sermons.² My cosin Parks hath been a good friend to me & if you cann doe his sonne any kindnes there, pray doe it.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR referred to the statement in the preface of the index volume of the Pickering Papers that the manuscripts of Timothy Pickering as quartermaster-general of the Revolutionary Army were bought in Germany by the United States Government. He said it was a misconception. The papers in question, after Pickering's term of service, were left in the hands of one Hodgdon, a private secretary, and were found some time in the Forties in the hands of Hodgdon's heirs by Arad Joy, of Ovid, New York, who at that time was searching for evidence as to military service of a Revolutionary soldier. Mr. Joy bought for \$100 about one-half of the collection, or those before 1785. What he secured embraced about 10,000 letters, including 75 of Washington, 100 of Hamilton, and others of Lafayette and other prominent characters, beside a large mass of ledgers, letter-books, diaries, and orderly-books. Mr. Joy, at a later day, offered them to the Government for \$5,000, but they were declined. They were finally sent to Professor C. A. Joy, of Columbia College, a son of the owner;

¹ For references to a lawsuit with Alderman Buckley, or Barkly, of London, see 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii. pp. 200, 205. See also Winthrop's Hist. of N. E., vol. ii. p. 248.

² Rev. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, who had then recently returned to England.

and while in his possession they were brought to the attention of George Bancroft, George H. Moore, and other students of American history, and at last to the notice of the War Department, which finally bought them for \$10,000 in 1873.

The misconception of their having been found in Germany probably rose in this way. About ten years ago I learned, said Mr. Winsor, of their former existence in Ovid from an old newspaper scrap, and on making inquiry through the Assemblyman who represented Ovid at Albany, I could learn nothing of their ultimate disposition. Knowing that Professor Joy was from that neighborhood, I wrote to him — he was then living in Munich — and got the history of the collection. On applying to Mr. Endicott, then Secretary of War, for permission to examine the papers, I was told that on inquiry he could not find that any such papers were in the departments. I next communicated with a friend in the Department of State, who, with the aid of a clerk in the War Office, finally rediscovered them in a closet. By an arrangement then entered upon between Mr. Endicott and Mr. Bayard, then Secretary of State, the collection was transferred for better keeping to the Department of State, where it now is.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then read for Mr. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, who was necessarily absent, the following remarks by way of report on a manuscript index to the Early Colony Laws, found among the Winthrop Papers, and referred to Mr. Whitmore at the last meeting of the Society.

Mr. President, — At the last meeting of the Society there was referred to me an ancient manuscript Index of our Laws for identification. Examination proves that the references are to the first printed edition of the Colony Laws in 1649, though no copy of the book has reached this generation.

In the Introduction to the Laws of 1672, printed by the city of Boston in 1890, I brought together fifty-three references to this first edition, by titles and often by pages. This manuscript has thirty-three similar references, of which thirteen coincide with mine, and all of them fall in a continuous alphabetical arrangement of subjects. From the preface to the edition of 1660 it appears that “an alphabetical order” had been “at first taken up, though perhaps not the most exact,” and was therefore continued. I hope I have also demonstrated that

the edition of 1649 was a book of seventeen sheets or sixty-eight pages (Introduction, p. 84), probably of the same size and type as that of 1660. This manuscript Index, with the pages of Precedents and Forms numbered 55 to 59, confirms the similarity between the two editions.

The few apparent discrepancies in the manuscript really confirm the whole. Thus on page 2 we find the title "Anabaptist," which is lacking in 1660; but in that second edition the title is "Heresy," and the side reference is Liber 1, page 2, "Anabaptists." So again the Index has, page 8, "Fences," misplaced among the titles beginning with C; but the full title was "Cattle, fencing against."

The reference, page 45, for "Swearing," is between the P's and R's, but the full title was "Profane Swearing."

I submit herewith a full list of the titles already thus identified by this manuscript and other authorities, with the highly satisfactory result of seventy-three titles recovered, or one for nearly every page of the original volume. In fact, we are now in a position to attempt the virtual reconstruction of the first edition, since the text in 1660 carefully points out the date of the sections of the various titles. Of course some of the earliest laws were slightly amended in the process of codification, but it should be possible to recover substantially the laws which were deemed in 1649 to constitute the code of general statutes.

Although the proceedings of the General Court have been printed, every reader knows the impossibility of obtaining therefrom any idea of what general laws were in force. The first and most important aid was given when our associate, the late Francis Calley Gray, discovered in the library of the Boston Athenæum the manuscript copy of the "Body of Liberties," which has been printed in our "Collections" in 1843. Since then the City of Boston has reprinted in facsimile the editions of "Laws of 1660 and of 1672," with their supplements. I believe that these books have proved of value in the study of our laws, and it is somewhat strange that no member of the bar has followed up the work thus begun.

It seems to be conceded that the "Body of Liberties" was a wonderful work, bearing comparison with any code ever promulgated. It is often asserted that our system of laws is continuous from that beginning, and that not only its principles,

but its words, continue in force to-day. If we can prepare the successive enactments from 1641 to 1660, we shall be able to verify these suggestions, and to give due credit to the wisdom of our ancestors.

I submit herewith a printed copy of the manuscript Index, in case it shall be deemed best to print it. It seems to have been prepared mainly to collect the laws relating to the powers and duty of a constable; and a perusal of it will perhaps give us a higher idea of the importance of that public officer two centuries ago.

I see no reason to think that this Index refers to any original manuscript, as the coincidences with the printed book are so numerous and uniform.

The references to the "Second Book of the Laws" (already identified as a Supplement of some sixteen pages, covering laws from 1648 to 1650) have not been examined, as they merely confirm previous conclusions.

Index of Laws.

Page 3. Ann^o 46. Title, Bakers. In every markett towne, or other townes needfull there shall be one or two men appointed & Sworne to See waite & marking of bread to be sold who may enter into all such houses either wth a constable or wthout & seize bread defective &c.

Page 4. 5: Anno 46. Title, Burglary, & Theft: One majestrate to heare & determine Small thefts, & give warrant to the constable of the said towne to levy the same: soe as it exceed not 40^s the constable to make returne to the court of that Jurisdiction of all such fines as they have received, yearely.

Page 8. Title, Fences. The constable [¶] warrant from Select men to levy double recompence to the repairers of common fences.

Page 8. Title, Small Causes. The majestrate in every towne where he lives to heare Small causes not Exceeding 40^s & may Send for pyes & witnesses, [¶] summons or Attatchm^t directed to y^e constable who is faithfully to Execute it. And where no majestrate is the county court, or co^t of Assistants (uppon request of such townes under the hand of y^e constable shall appoint 3 freemen as comissioners in such cases. 2 whereof shall have power as y^e majestrate above. & they may charge y^e constable wth y^e delinquent to carry him before a majestrate or y^e Shire Court if then Sitting. And where it concerns the said majestrate, or 3 men the Select men have the like power to heare & determine.

Page 9. Title, Charges Publike. Y^e Constable of next townes

¶ warrant from one Assistant & y^e overseer of publique worke to Send men to them, onely y^e constable is to take two other or more of the freemen to himselfe for executing it. And for extraordinary workes y^e constable & y^e other two or more wth him to send any Except majestrates & officers of Churches & Co^mon welth :

Ditto page. Every inhabitant that doth not voluntarily contribute to publike charges both civill & Ecclesiasticall shall be compelled thereto by Assesment & distresse to be levyed ¶ the constable ; or other officer of y^e towne as in other cases.

Ditto page & title. The treasurer to send for a his warrant to constable & Select men in every towne requiring the Constable to call together the inhabitants who are to chuse a commissioner who wth the select men shall in the 6th moneth make a list of all males from 16 years & upwards. & a true Estimation of Estates, w^{ch} are to be assessed ¶ ditto comissioners & Select men. And y^e treasurer to give warrant to constable to collect & levy the same. Soe as the whole assesmt^t be paid into the treasurer before y^e 20th of novem : Every one to pay his rate to the constable in the same towne where assessed, but if y^e treasurer cannott dispose of it there, the constable to send it in where he shall appoint, at y^e charge of y^e country : to be allowed the constable uppon his acc^t wth y^e treasurer. And uppon distress to be taken, y^e officer shall distrein goods or cattle, if none to be had, then lands or houses, if none of these, then uppon warrant from treasurer to attatch y^e body & carry to prison, or take security to next co^t of that shire.

Page 12. Title, Clerks of Writts. Constables to serve attatchm^{ts} in townes where no marshall is :

Page 13. Title, Constables. Constables to whip (where none else appointed) or to gett another to do it : offenders of forreign jurisdictions, to be passed from constable to Constable to place whither sent ; or before some majestrate, who may dispose of them as he see cause : that Hue & cries shall be duly received & dillgently pursued. In townes where noe magestrate is y^e Constable is to make Signe & putt forth pursuites or Hue & Cryes after murderers, man slayers, peace breakers, theeves, robbers, Burglarers & other capitall offenders. Also to app^r-hend wthout warrant, drunkerds, swearers, sabbath breakers, lyers, vagrant psons, night walkers or any other that shall offend in any of these : provided seen ¶ Constable, or p^rsent information & to search for Such in publique houses or other suspected places : & to app^r-hend them & keep in safe Custody till brought before a magestrate for examination. If constable be employed ¶ magestrate to app^r-hend any, not to doe it wthout warrant in writeing if any refuse to assist constable : 10^s fine to be levyed ¶ warrant from any majestrate : wilfull obstinate & contemptuous neglect to assist : 40^s, & for avoiding the plea of ignorance, staffe to be carryed wth him when constable goeth

to discharge any p^t of his office. If magistrate or constable refuse to endeavo^r p^{ro}secutions of hue & Cryes &c fineable 40^s for every offence.

Page 16. Title, Death Untimely. In that case some assistant or constable of that towne to summon a jury of 12 men, to enquire the cause & manner of y^r death & to p^{re}sent a true verdict to Some neer assistant, (or next co^ut in y^t shire) uppon oath.

Page 21. Title, Elections. In small townes where are noe deputies nor come in p^{er}son to Election the Constable wth 2 or 3 of cheife freemen shall receive the votes, & deliver them wth their owne, sealed up, to the deputies of next towne: who shall carefully convey them to s^d Co^ut of Election.

Page 21. Title, Elections. For Supply of Assistants y^e Deputyes of Co^ut to give notice to constable or Select men to give in votes w^{ch} are to be opened at Boston. And agents of each shire repealed.
looke pag. 10. to signify y^e p^{er}sons to be nominated to y^e constable of each 2 booke
towne under their hands, y^e constable to signify it to the freemen.

Page 26. Title, Idlenes. The constable to take notice of idlenes, specially com^on Coasters unprofitable foulers & tobacco takers, & to p^{re}sent them to the two next Assistants.

Page 27. Title, Impost. The constable (if required) to Assist the customer of wines to break up houses or cellars if need bee &c And p^{ro} warrant from any one magistrate to levy ten shillings fine from any porter, Carter &c that shall refuse to assist y^e s^d Customer.

Page 28. Title, Impresses. No mans cattle or goods whatsoever be pressed or taken for any publike use & Service, unlesse it by [be?] p^{ro} warrant grounded uppon Some act of the generall Co^ut, nor wthout reasonable hire.

Page 30. Title, Drunkenes, &c. Drunken man to pay 10^s. Excessive drinking: 3^s 4^d. Continuing above halfe an houre tippling 2^s. 6^d. Tippling at unseasonable times, or after 9 a clock at night, 5^s. & for want of paym^t to be imprisoned, or sett in stocks one houre or more, not exceeding 3 houres. y^e 2^d time double fines. 3^d time treble fines. if not able to pay y^e Drunkerd to be whipped 10 stripes. others Stocks 3 hours. fourth time imprisoned till find suretyes to good behavior.

Page 31. ditto title. Any convicted of breach of y^e severall lawes in ditto title expressed either p^{ro} sight of magistrate, affirmation of constable or other witsnesse to be fined (as the law provides) p^{ro} one magistrate to be levied p^{ro} warrant to constable who is to be accomptable to the Auditor: now all accompts of this nature to be made to the Treasurer of y^e County.

Also y^e Constables to search uppon lords dayes or lecture dayes in

times of exercise for any breaking said laws. And if y^e Constable uppon complaint refuse soe to doe uppon due proof before any one magistrate wthin 3 moneths after such neglect they shall be fined for every Such neglect 10^s to be levyed ¶ Marshall ¶ warrant from y^e said magistrate or from y^e Treasurer uppon notice from such magistrate.

Page 31. Title, Juryes. The Constable uppon proces from y^e recorder of y^e Co^t shall give timely notice to y^e freemen of y^e towne to chuse jury men, soe many as the proces shall direct, w^{ch} men he is to warne to attend the Co^t & shall make returne of y^e proces to the recorder afores^d.

Page 34. Title, Levyes. The constable to assist y^e marshall (if caled) to levy fines, assesm^{ts} or executions. to breake up house, chest &c. y^e like in fines. but not to levy any mans bedding apparell tooles or Armes, nor implem^{ts} of household necessary for upholding of life.

Page 35. Title, Lying. The constable or marshall to levy fines for lying or inflict stripes as the Co^t or magistrate shall direct, the fines to be pd to y^e treasury of the Shire.

Page 37. Title, Marriage. Constables to su^mon to y^e county co^t or co^t of Assistants all such as have wives or husbands in other p^{ts} and repaire not to them: on penalty of 20^s for every defect.

Page 38. Title, Masters &c. If serv^{ts} runne from Ma^{rs} or other inhabitants privily goe away wth suspition of ill intentions, the next magistrate or constable wth 2 of cheife inhabitants where no magistrate is, to presse, men, boates, pinnaces at publike charge to pursue & bring back ¶ force of Armes. Also serv^{ts} or workmens wages w^{ch} is to be p^d in corne (if the p^{ty}es agree not) y^e corne to be valued ¶ a third man chosen ¶ y^e magistrate or ¶ next Constable if no magistrate in towne.

Page 39. Notice to be given. to magistrate or Constable ¶ any freeman, to whom any mans serv^t is fled from tyranny of Superiors.

Page 42. Title, Military Affaires. The constable to provide armes for such single p^{sons} as cannot through poverty, provide for themselves & to appoint him when & where to earne it out.

Page 43. Three cheife officers of each company have power to punish souldiers or co^mitt them to constable to be carryed before some magistrate.

Page 44. Title, Pipestaves. The constable to convent before some magistrate the veiwers of pipestaves that are chosen in each towne, to be sworn &c.

Page 45. The constable ¶ warrant from magistrate to levy 10^s for Swearing or sett the p^{ty} in Stocks not above 3 houres nor less then one.

Page 46. Title, Rates, Fines. The Constable to levy after y^e expiration of his office if not done before. & if he bring y^m not in, y^e Treasurer to distreine Constables goods: if y^e treasurer neglect soe to doe, he shall be responsible for the so^me to y^e Country: if the constable be not solvent, the Treasurer to distreine any man of y^e towne, who shall from y^e generall Co^t & petition have redresse from s^d towne wth damages.

Page 48. Title, Straies. Straie beasts of [or?] lost goods, notice of y^m to be given to the Constable wthin six dayes, who is to enter y^e same in a booke, & take order that it be cryed y^e next lecture day or generall towne meeting upon 3 Severall dayes & if it be above 20^s at y^e next markett or publike towne meetings where no markett is wthin ten miles. Uppon penalty of y^e finder or constable defective to forfeite one third p^t of the value. If y^e owner appeare wthin a yeare, he to have it or its value paying y^e charges & to constable for his care and paines, as magistrate or 3 men judge, if noe owner appeare y^e Stray or lost goods to be y^e finders, paying to y^e constable 10^s or a 5th p^t of it, provided y^t there be a with or wreath about y^e necke of such stray beast wthin one month of its finding.

Page 49. Title, Strangers. All constables shall enforme y^e co^ts of new commers w^{ch} they know to be admitted into any towne wthout licence, contrary to law there provided.

Page 50. Title, Swine. The constable where no Select men are, to issue warrant to one appointed to levy fines & penaltyes about swine. As also to be one of the prizers of Swine impounded if noe owner appeare.

Page 52. Title, Watching. Constable to p^sent to next magistrate any that neglect or refuse to watch. fine five shill to use of y^e watch, levyed & warrant from magistr. & every pson of able body (not exempt & law) or of estate sufficient to hire another shall watch & ward. Except farmers.

Page ditto. Title, Weights & Measures. The const. of every towne to provide standards of them Sealed & Auditor Gen. for w^{ch} y^e Cons^t to pay him two pence for every weight & measure soe sized & sealed. y^e cons. to co^mitt them to y^e Select men, who wth the Constable, are to chuse out of y^m one to be Sealer who shall be p^sented to county co^t to be Sworne, & shall have power to send forth his warrants & the Constables to all y^e inhabitants to bring in their wayts & measures in y^e second moneth from yeare to yeare at such place as he shall appoint, who shall have one penny for first sealing. Uppon forfeiture of forty shillings & moneth for neglect of const. or Select men or sealer. & psons neglecting to bring them in to forfeit 3^s 4^d for every default. The constable to make returne of all the names of psons warned.

Page 54. Title, Wolves. Ten shillings to be p^d to him y^t kills a wolfe wthin 10 miles of any planta^{co}n, in this jurisdiction, out of y^e treasury of y^e country: they bringing a certificate to y^e Treasurer under some magistrates hand or y^e constables of the place.

Page 55. Title, Workmen. The constables of every towne uppon request made to y^m shall require any Artificers, meet to labor to worke ¶ the day for y^eir neighbors in mowing, reaping of corne or innung thereof. being duly paid for it. The penalty of neglect of Constable or pson required to be double y^e said wages payable to use of poore of y^e towne, provided any such pson be not necessarily imployed on y^e like buisnes of his owne.

Page 55. P^rsident Attatchm^t. To y^e marshall or constable of (B) or to their deputy. You are required to attatch y^e body & Goods of (W. E.) & to take bond of him to the value of ——— wth sufficient surety or suretys for his appearance at the next co^rt holden at (S) on the ——— day of the ——— moneth then & there to answer y^e complaint of &c, & soe make a true returne hereof under yo^r hand Dated &c.

Bond for appearance. Know all men ¶ these p^rents that we (A. B.) of (D.) yeoman & (C. C.) of y^e same, carpenter doe binde o^r selves o^r heires & Executors to (R. F.) marshall or (m.o.) cons. of (D) afores^d in ——— pounds: uppon condition that y^e said (A. B.) shall psonally appeare at y^e next co^rt at (S) to Answer (L. M.) in an action of ——— And to abide the order of y^e co^rt therein & not depart wthout licence.

Page 58. Title, Three men. Where 3 men are deputed to heare small causes, the const. of y^e place wthin one moneth after shall returne their names to y^e next magistrate, who shall summons them to appear before him & administer an oath to them.

Page 59. Const. Oath. Whereas you (E. G.) are chosen const. wthin the towne of (C) for one yeare now following & untill another be sworne in the place, you doe here Sweare by the name of almighty God that you will carefully intend the p^rservation of y^e peace the discovery & p^rventing all attempts ag^t y^e same. You shall duly execute all warrants y^t shall be sent unto you from lawfull authority here established & shall faithfully execute all such orders of Co^rt as are committed to yo^r care. And in all these you shall deale seriously & faithfully while you shall be in office, wthout any sinister respect of favo^r or displeasure. Soe helpe you God in o^r lord Jesus Christ.

2 booke. Page 6. Title, Drunkenes. Every Vintner or beer Seller that conceales a drunkard & doth not forthwth procure a constable & make stop of him y^e s^d Drunken pson till the constable come to forfeit 5^{ll} for such offence. Any magistrate to co^maund y^e constable

if he see cause to accompany him \forall day or night, to enter into any taverne &c to search out any disorders afores^d.

Page 6. Title, Drunkenes. If any being drunke offer abuse to const. or others \forall strieking him or them, or revileing or use any endeavour to Scape, it shall be in power of const. to comitt him to safe keeping or imprisonm^t or take bond for appearance as he shall see cause, and y^t y^e keep of each prison uppon warrant from any magist. comis. or Select men shall receive all such Soe comitted. & take but 12^d fee. Y^e const. to enforme next magis. : or if none in y^e towne then one or more of y^e 3 men for Small causes or in defect of them y^e Select men one or more of y^m who have power to act as a magis., provided if y^e delinquent shall confesse his fault & pay his fines & other charges the Const. shall receive it & discharge the offender. And all psons to receive fines as afores^d shall forthwth make returne to the clarke of y^e county co^rt what he hath done & rec^d who shall record it. The like power in absence of a magis. Every Court shall have to pceed wth cursers, Swearers Unseasonable tipplers, comp^r keeps, Gamesters.

Page 7: Title, Fines. All psons, marshalls or other officers who receive any gifts fines or other dues to the country shall make certificate to the Audit^r Gen. wthin fourteen dayes, who shall send a Transcript or note therof to y^e Treasurer.

Page 8. Title, Horses to be Impressed, : viz all that are not in regimentall Exercise or in publique service. onely listed horses to be allowed 2^s others 18^d \forall diem

Page 10. Title, Magistrates. The const. to call together y^e freemen some day in y^e last weeke of the ninth moneth yearly, to give in their votes in distinct paps for magis. not exceding twenty. The Comissioners of Shires (after y^e votes are opened at Boston) shall signify to y^e const. of their severall townes under their hands the names of those 20 psons afores^d all w^{ch} y^e const. shall forthwth signify to their freemen, who ever shall fayle in their trust herein shall forfeit 10^{li}.

Page 14. Title, Sheep. The Constable of y^e towne shall upon notice given him of any mans dogge that hath killed a Sheep, if the owner of y^e dogge, refuse to hang him, cause it to be done.

Page 6. Title, ministers maintenance. The County Co^rt in every shire uppon informa^on of defect in any towne to maintenance of ministry, may order & appoint what shall be allowed & give warrant to y^e Select men to asses it, & to Constables to collect it & distreine uppon refusall.

Page ditto. One magistrate \forall warrant to a Constable to call before him disobedient children & to pceed ag^t them according to law in y^t case there pvided. The comissioners of Boston & 3 co^missioners of each towne where noe magis. is to doe the like.

Page 2. Title, Choise of Deputyes. The constable of every towne to returne the names of such pson or psons as are chosen Deputyes for y^e Gen. Co^rt & the time for w^{ch} they are chosen whether for y^e first Session or y^e whole yeare, on penalty of 20^s to Contry treasury

Page 3. Title, Harvard Colledge, Whereas 100^l is to be added to the rates yearely w^{ch} is allowed to y^e colledge, it is ordered that such psons as have already done voluntarily in that kinde, shall be considered for y^e same in y^e Country rate: Such a pportion as this addition of 100^l doe adde to the rate, to be allowed \P y^e constable to each pson & by the treasurer to y^e constable.

May 55. the Co^mitte of melitia & select men to levy on y^e towne for repara^con of forts & batteryes &c w^{ch} to be gathered \P Constables & by y^m comitted to y^e Treasurer or constable if appointed to be treasurer of s^d towns.

Page 11. Title, Const. Acc^o. Every constable enjoyned to cleare acc^o wth treasurer for rates \P the 1st of May yearely, on penalty of 5^l & have power to impresse boates or carts to send it in.

Page 2. Title, Packing Fish &c. The townes where any casks are made to choose yearely a gager, who is to be p^sented within a week after choise to any one magistrate to be sworne. if the said Gager refuse it to pay 40^s and another to be chosen. if towne or const. neglect therein \P fine 40^s.

Page 4. Title, Powder Imported. The Cap^t of Castle to give notice to all masters to enter the powder they import & constables in other townes to doe the like.

Page 5. Title, Care of Youth. Whosoever harbour or retaine children, serv^{ts} &c into their houses or vessells from their ma^s or parents buisnes to forfeitt 40^s. & constables to act in this as is provided in reference to law of inkeepers.

Page 5. Title, Jurors. Jurors for speciall Co^rts to be chosen as other jurors in the place where they are to be chosen.

Page 7. Title, Boston Com^{oner}. Marshalls. Constables & other inhabitants to Assist y^e Comissioners.

Page 7. Title, P^rvention of Outrages. The mas^r or mate of every ship or vessell y^t shall bring in any strangers to p^rsent them im^mediately (if they be above 16 yeares old) before y^e Gov^r, Deputy or 2 other magistrates upon penalty of 20^l there to give acc^o of their occasions & buisnes in this Country. The Cap^t of y^e Castle shall make knowne this to every vessell as it passeth by & the constable of port townes to endeavor to doe the like: y^e Gov^r &c to give their names & qualities to clerk of writts & soe to sessions

Akin to this subject, Dr. GREEN furthermore mentioned the fact that among the early manuscripts belonging to the Library

was one written in an ancient hand, of which the following is a transcript:—

A tru Coppy of the Law titled high ways as it is in the old Law book 1642: pag 37: 2: section

Itt is ordered and declared by this Court that the Select townesmen of every town haue power to Lay out by them selves or others per-ticular and privat ways consernig thayr owne Town only: so as no damag be don to aney man without du recompenc to be givn by the Judgment of the sd Select men and on or two chosn by the sd select men and on or to chosn by the party and if aney pson shall find him-self Justly agreived he may appeale to the next County Court of that Shire who shall do Justic ther in as in other Cases.

[Indorsed] A Copy of the Law titled highways in the old Law book Impow^r select men to satisfy for highway.

Perhaps the reference in the first paragraph, "pag 37: 2: section," is to the printed edition of 1660, with which it corresponds; but there does not seem now to be any reason why at that time this should have been called "the old Law book."

MR. CHARLES C. SMITH said:—

Since our last meeting my attention has been called to a newspaper article¹ advocating the rebuilding of the Beacon Hill Monument, erected in 1790, "To commemorate that train of events which led to the American Revolution and finally secured liberty and independence to the United States." Nothing is said in the article as to the authorship of the inscriptions on the monument, which has long been a matter of doubt. In his "Topographical Description of Boston," published a quarter of a century ago, and eighty years after the monument was built, Dr. Shurtleff says that the inscriptions were ascribed to Judge Thomas Dawes, and adds, "If he did not write them, it is desirable to know who did."² It has also been suggested that they were written by Governor Bowdoin; and a distinct claim was made by the late Rev. Stephen G. Bulfinch, that his father, Charles Bulfinch, the architect, not only "gave the design," but also "furnished the inscriptions."³ Under date of April 9, 1896, Mrs. Marcou,

¹ In the Boston Evening Transcript, April 7, 1896.

² Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, p. 177.

³ Wheildon's Sentry, or Beacon Hill, p. 75.

granddaughter of the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the recognized founder of this Society, writes: "I was told by my aunt, Miss E. Belknap, that my grandfather was the author of the inscriptions." That Miss Belknap was right, and that Dr. Belknap had the chief part in forming the inscriptions, admits, I think, of but little doubt; but these conflicting claims furnish additional proof of the soundness of the positions taken by Mr. Pierce in his very able paper on "Recollections as a Source of History," read at our March meeting. Fortunately, however, we are not left merely to recollections. In a letter to Ebenezer Hazard, dated September 14, 1790, Dr. Belknap writes: "Yesterday I was consulted on forming a set of inscriptions for a historical pillar, which is erecting on Beacon Hill. Some of the most striking events of the Revolution will be inscribed, beginning with the *Stamp Act* and ending with the *Funding Act*. These comprehend a period of 25 years. The one may be considered as the beginning, and the other as the conclusion, of the American Revolution."¹ This, it is believed, is the only contemporary information which we have on the subject, and it clearly implies a connection between Dr. Belknap and the inscriptions. His social and intellectual position in the community at that time was such as to make him the person most likely to be called on to prepare an inscription for an historical monument; and it is difficult to believe that he was asked merely to criticise the work of another. The two shorter inscriptions can scarcely have come from any hand but his: of one I have already quoted the larger part; the other is as follows, — "Americans, while from this eminence scenes of luxuriant fertility, of flourishing commerce, and the abodes of social happiness meet your view, forget not those who by their exertions have secured to you these blessings." As to the two longer inscriptions, which record "the most striking events of the Revolution," he may very well have had, and probably did have, suggestions from various persons; but this conjecture in no way weakens the claim in his behalf, that he was the real author of these "judicious inscriptions," as Dr. Shurtleff calls them.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN called attention to a rare volume by Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, and said: —

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. iii. p. 233.

Since the last meeting of the Society, our associate Colonel Thomas W. Higginson has given to the Library a rare volume entitled "Our Dying Saviour's Legacy of Peace to His Disciples in a troublesome World" (Boston, 1686), which was written by his ancestor the Rev. John Higginson, of Salem. It is of special interest at the present time, as it adds another title to the List of Early American Imprints belonging to the Society, which appears in the Proceedings (second series, IX. 410-540). This little book has more historical value than usually attaches to such productions, as the preface contains some biographical matter which far outweighs in importance the doctrinal views so common in early theological works. Mr. Higginson, the author, came over from England in 1629 with his father, who died during the next year. Though a mere lad at the time, the care and maintenance of his mother and seven other children fell largely upon him, the eldest of the family; and he soon developed those traits of character for which he afterward became distinguished. For some years he lived in the Colony of Connecticut, but in the summer of 1660 was ordained over the same church at Salem which his father had planted; and here he remained for nearly half a century. He published several occasional discourses; and among them is the Election Sermon of 1663, the first one printed in that long series of annual addresses. While he was a relentless opponent of the Quakers, he took no part in the terrible tragedy of 1692 at Salem, where he was then settled.

The following is a fac-simile reproduction of the titlepage of the volume, with a collation of the same: —

Our Dying Saviour's
LEGACY of PEACE
 To His Disciples in a troublesome
 World, from *John 14.27.*
My Peace I give unto you, &c.

Also a
DISCOURSE

On the Two WITNESSES:
 Shewing that it is the Duty of all Christians
 to be Witnesses unto Christ, from *Rev. 11.3.*
I will give to my two Witnesses, &c.
 Unto which is added,
 Some Help to Self-Examination.

By *John Higginson* Pastor of the Church in
Salem.

2 Pet. 1.14, 15 Knowing that I must shortly put off
 this Tabernacle, I will endeavour, that after my
 decease you may have these things always in
 remembrance.

Boston, Printed by *Samuel Green* for *John*
Usher near the Town-House, 1686.

Titlepage, surrounded by a border line, *verso* blank ; 7 pp. "To the Church and People of God at Salem ; also at Guilford and Say Brook : Grace unto you, and Peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ," headpiece a line of seventeen border pieces, a rule, and a line of similar pieces inverted, headlines "To the Reader," signed "John Higginson," and dated at Salem, August 6, 1686 ; 1 p. blank ; 3 pp. "Christian Reader," headpiece similar to the first one, headlines "To the Reader," signed "of him who is a Well-wisher to Israels Peace, Samuel Willard" ; 1 p. blank ; 1-131, "John 14. 27," text, headpiece similar to the first, various headlines ; 1 p. blank ; 133-185, "Revelations II. III.," text, headpiece similar to the first, various headlines ; 1 p. blank ; 183 [187]-205, "Some help to Self-Examination, which I drew up for my Self, in the Year 1652. But may be of like use to any, that shall peruse the same ; with Meditation and Self Application, and earnest Prayer, as Psal. 139. 23, 24," headpiece a line of seventeen border pieces, headlines "Self-Examination" ; 1 p. blank ; 1 p. "Advertisement," between two lines of border pieces, as given below : —



Advertisement.

THere is now ready for the Press,
and will shortly be Printed a
small Treatise about *Justification*, by the
Reverend Mr. *Samuel Willard*, Teacher
at the South Church in *Boston*.



By a coincidence, which happened quite independently of Colonel Higginson's gift, and at nearly the same time, was the binding of a thin tract by the Rev. John Higginson, printed in the year 1665. It is entitled "A Direction for a Publick Profession in the Church Assembly, after private Examination by the Elders," etc., and more than eighty years ago came into the possession of the Library, where it was given by Lieutenant-Governor Thomas L. Winthrop, afterward the President of

the Society. A short time later it was bound up with twenty other pamphlets, of which none approached it in value or interest. Through the kindness of our associate, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., at his expense this tract has been taken from the volume, carefully cleaned, and bound separately in full morocco. For a collation of its pages, see Proceedings (second series, IX. 423) of the Society.

The Rev. Joseph B. Felt reprints the tract, both in his pamphlet entitled "Did the First Church of Salem originally have a Confession of Faith distinct from their Covenant?" (Boston, 1856), pages 23-25; and also in his "Reply to the New-England Congregationalism of Hon. Daniel A. White" (Salem, 1861), pages 55-57. A clew to the date of its appearance (1665) is found on page 17 of the first-named pamphlet, as well as a clew to its authorship.

In the lower margin of the first page of the tract, in the handwriting of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., is the following: "The author is M^r John Higenson Pastor of y^e Church of Salem." Specimens of the same writing may be seen in a copy of an Almanack for 1662, which is bound up with four other English almanacs, that had once belonged to three generations of the Winthrop family, and now are found on the shelves of the Historical Society. John Winthrop, Jr., and John Higginson were contemporaries, and at one time lived near each other in Connecticut; and of course they knew one another well. I mention this fact in some detail, as I consider the written statement in regard to the authorship to be conclusive, inasmuch as it was made at that period; and furthermore Dr. Felt reached the same conclusion, presumably from an independent starting-point.

It has been said that the Rev. Francis Higginson, the father, was the writer of the tract, — and not the son, — inasmuch as the title refers to "the Church of *Salem*" in 1629, the year it was gathered. A careful reading of the phraseology, however, shows that the "Direction for a Publick Profession," etc., purported to be only "the same for Substance," and did not claim to be identical with that originally agreed upon by the Church.

Higginson's tract was printed in the year 1665 by Samuel Green, of Cambridge, who at that period was the only printer in the Colonies.

Col. Theodore Ayrault Dodge, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member.

Incidental remarks were made during the meeting by Mr. JOHN C. ROPES, the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Mr. CLEMENT HUGH HILL, the Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, and Mr. WILLIAM P. UPHAM, the last two of whom spoke at some length of the importance of a complete publication of the Provincial Laws and Resolves, with the illustrative matter contained in the Massachusetts Archives.

A new serial of the Proceedings, comprising the record of the March and April meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.



A. P. Peabody.

MEMOIR
OF
ANDREW P. PEABODY, D.D., LL.D.

BY EDWARD J. YOUNG.

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, March 19, 1811, and his birthplace is marked by a substantial brick edifice, on which are inscribed the words "Peabody Building." He was a descendant of Lieutenant Francis Peabody of St. Albans, England, who came to this country in the ship "Planter" in 1635, and from whom George Peabody the philanthropist was also descended. His father was a native of Middleton, and intended to prepare himself for the ministry; but his health failed, and he became a teacher, and for many years kept the public school in Beverly. His mother, who was a woman of singular sweetness, belonged to a highly esteemed family in Essex County, being a sister of Hon. Robert Rantoul, Sr., of Beverly. The father died when the child was very young; and among his last words charged his wife that she would carry out the wish which he had always cherished, that their only son might be educated for the profession which he had chosen for himself, but had been obliged to abandon. This solemn injunction, being often repeated in presence of the lad, made a lasting impression on his mind; and after he grew up, he said that the truths of religion which he cherished were inseparable in his thought from a Christian mother's teaching and from the dying benediction of a sainted father. Thus, like the prophet Samuel, from his earliest years he was dedicated to the Lord.

He was able to read when he was three years old, and he learned his letters from a book which inadvertently was placed

before him upside down, so that it was always a matter of indifference to him how a book was put before his eyes. On one occasion, when he was riding in a stage-coach, and was turning the leaves of a volume printed in German characters, one of the passengers remarked that this young man pretended to have a knowledge of German, but he could know nothing about it, for he was holding his book upside down. The ancient languages he could read in the same manner; and when a pupil stood before him with a copy of Homer or Virgil, he could from his seat overlook the top of the page and follow the lesson as readily as if he had the copy in his own hand. For a considerable time he preferred this way of reading; but when he saw that it attracted attention, he discontinued it, although he retained his power of so doing as long as he lived.

Many instances are related of his wonderful memory. When he was seven years of age, the members of his class in Sunday-school were requested to begin the Bible and learn as much as they could. On being called upon, he recited sentence after sentence, and occupied the time until it was necessary to close the school. As he had not finished, inquiry was made by the superintendent, when it was found that Andrew had committed to memory the whole of the first chapter of Genesis and a large part of the book besides. Even when he was quite small, he manifested an original and bright mind. To the question, "Which would make the better fire, — a fool or a philosopher?" he answered, using a word which was remarkable for so young a boy, "I think an intermediate person would succeed best." The following letters, addressed to his cousin Robert Rantoul, Jr., who was then at Phillips Andover Academy, and afterwards became a distinguished member of Congress, were written when Andrew was nine and eleven years old: —

BEVERLY, March 13, 1820.

DEAR COUSIN, — I write this letter, that I may receive an answer; therefore I hope that you will answer it at the first opportunity. I hope before many years have passed that I shall be at the Academy. I have now under my care a class in Colburn's Arithmetic. I take them into the library-room in the afternoon, and seat them at the round table, wherefore I style them "knights of the round table." I am perfectly satisfied that Colburn's Arithmetic is founded on an excellent

plan, and that it will be of great use in instructing those who know nothing of arithmetic. I am now reading a book called "Struggles through Life." It is a very entertaining book. . . .

BEVERLY, October 6, 1822.

DEAR COUSIN, — As Saturday afternoon is the only leisure time I have, I take this time to write to you. I am writing exercises from Dana's "Latin Tutor." I began Virgil yesterday. I never, since I was five years old, studied so much or read so little as I do now. I used to think, if I endured the fatigue of a noisy school, that I studied a great deal; but now I have the pleasure of study unmixed with its fatigue. A few days ago I came very near making an Irish blunder. In construing Selecta I came to a passage in which was the word *apis*, a bee. I was about to construe it an ape, but recollecting that I had read of a little girl who, hearing the word *apiary*, thought it meant a collection of apes, I immediately changed my opinion, and construed it a bee. In my Greek grammar I have gone as far as the end of verbs in μ . Of all my studies I like the "Latin Tutor" best.

From childhood Andrew Peabody had an intense thirst for knowledge, and extraordinary readiness in acquiring it. He was a persistent reader of books, many of which were far beyond his years. On those afternoons when there was no school he used to visit a lady who taught him botany, so that he was able to apply the Linnæan system. From her he learned also French, which he became able to read as fluently as English; and he made a beginning in German literature, so that he was one of those who formed the first class in German at Harvard College. At school, in addition to the required studies, he took up geometry and trigonometry, verified all the problems contained in Bowditch's "Navigator," and mastered the paradigms in the Greek grammar, though he was only ten years of age. He cared little for outdoor sports in which other boys engaged, but books were the joy of his life. He read Maria Edgeworth's stories, Hume's History of England, Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Rollin's Ancient History; the novels of Walter Scott, which deepened the impressions derived from Hume; Mungo Park's Travels in Africa; and Paradise Lost, Lycidas, as well as some of Milton's sonnets and smaller pieces. But biography was his favorite reading. Speaking, a few years ago, of books which had helped him, he said: "Whatever is to be said or sung to me, of wit or wisdom, in prose or verse, I want to see the man

who says or sings it. As for sermons, while I delight in hearing them because I have the preacher and the sermon together, I read fewer of them than I publish. But the lives of saintly men and women, high and low, great and humble, of missionaries, philanthropists, reformers, I can read without weariness and with uninterrupted enjoyment. As regards the more solid reading of maturer years, I have always been the most strongly drawn to, and have derived the greatest benefit from, authors whose position or opinion differed the most widely from my own. This has been especially the case in theology and moral philosophy, the departments peculiarly belonging to me equally by choice and by profession."

He was fitted for college by Bernard Whitman, who was then studying theology with the Rev. Dr. Abiel Abbot, and who afterwards became minister of the Second Religious Society in Waltham. So faithfully did he apply himself to his preparatory course that at the age of twelve he was admitted to college without conditions; and he accomplished much other work, as appears from the following certificate:—

Andrew Peabody has committed to memory—

1st. Mason on Self-Knowledge.

2d. 1st part Geneva Catechism.

3rd. 11 chapters in Evidences of Christianity,

and has recited 27 sections in Grotius de veritate Chris. Rel.

Absent none.

Attest: BERNARD WHITMAN.

BEVERLY, Oct., 1823.

Being considered too immature to join his class, he continued under the instruction of his former teacher; and he was so diligent and persevering that at the end of six months he passed an examination in the requirements of the Freshman year, and at the following Commencement in those of the Sophomore year, and at thirteen was matriculated as a Junior. During the period of study under Mr. Whitman he worked from twelve to fifteen hours a day, and took no vacation, and seldom had an hour for play or recreation. This excessive labor might have been followed by very serious consequences; but happily its result was that it developed a capacity for unintermitted strenuous exertion, which was of inestimable value in after life. In 1826 he graduated at the age of fif-

teen, being the youngest member of his class, and with one exception (Paul Dudley), the youngest individual who ever received a degree from Harvard College.¹ Among his classmates were Richard Hildreth, George W. Hosmer, Edward Jarvis, Cazneau Palfrey, George Putnam, Robert Rantoul, Jr., Oliver Stearns, J. Thomas Stevenson, and Samuel H. Walley, — all of them well known, and some of them celebrated in this community.

For three years after leaving college he was engaged in teaching. He took charge of a district school in Middleton; was private tutor in the family of Mr. H. J. Huidekoper, in Meadville, Pennsylvania; and then was principal of the Academy in Portsmouth. Having no qualifications for the management of boys, he naturally passed through some trying experiences; and subsequently, when he was asked by one of his Portsmouth parishioners, how he had enjoyed being a schoolmaster, he replied that he had enjoyed his vacations. In 1829 he entered the Divinity School at Cambridge, where he spent three years, during which he was proctor in the College, and instructor in Hebrew to those Seniors who chose that language as an elective. In 1832 he was tutor in mathematics, of which he was always fond, and of which he has said that "mathematical science reveals geometrical and numerical fitnesses, proportions, and harmonies, which are traced alike in the courses of the stars and in the collocation of the foliage on the tree, and which promise one day to give us the equation of the curve of the sea-shell, of the contour of the geranium leaf, of the crest of the wave." He preached on Sundays in vacant pulpits, and received three invitations to take a permanent settlement, one of these coming from the South Parish of Portsmouth. Rev. Dr. Nathan Parker was in feeble health, but it was hoped that after an interval of rest he might return to the pulpit; and Mr. Peabody was asked to become his assistant. Distrustful of himself, he accepted the call, believing that he would have the benefit of the senior pastor's counsel and aid. The ordination took place on October 24, 1833; but Dr. Parker's illness having increased, he was unable to be present, and soon afterward died, and his colleague preached his funeral sermon on the third Sunday of his pastorate. The young minister, who was then twenty-two

¹ Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, vol. iii. p. 6, note.

years of age, thus unexpectedly found himself in full charge of the parish.

Portsmouth at that time was a place of much more commercial importance than it is now. There was a considerable trade with the West Indies, wharves and warehouses were built, and there was much activity and bustle along the streets. The large dwelling-houses were occupied by prosperous merchants, and there were many families of wealth, refinement, and culture. The South Parish was one of the strongest in New England, and had lately built a costly stone edifice which was filled by a congregation many of whom were among the most intelligent in the community. Its minister had been noted for his dignity and simplicity, and was regarded by his society with mingled pride and affection, and was held second to no clergyman of his denomination in that part of the country. The new minister was shy, awkward, unaccustomed to society, and with little knowledge of the world. But he had loyal friends and helpers, who overlooked his mistakes, supplemented his deficiencies, and assisted him in every way; and to this fact undoubtedly he referred when he said that a people frequently may do as much for a minister as a minister may do for a people. He gradually grew into fitness for his office, and at length showed that he was admirably adapted for it. He won the respect of everybody by his acknowledged ability as a preacher, and soon there were no pews to be obtained in the church. He prepared always one and not seldom two discourses for every Sunday, and in addition to this he delivered an Expository Lecture, and conducted a Bible Class for young ladies during the week. He gave his best thought to his sermons, which frequently were written *currente calamo*, at one sitting. He worked often till after midnight — a practice which he continued for many years — because he could compose better when the house was still.

He was a devoted pastor, after the type which now is passing away. He spent the forenoon in his study, but in the afternoon he went among the people, and here he found themes for his preaching. He was unremitting in his attentions to the aged, the sick, and the sad. His parishioners felt sure of his interest in them and in whatever related to them, and to many he was their chosen confidant and adviser in

worldly, domestic, and spiritual troubles. He never obtruded his opinions or advice; but when opportunities were offered for saying a helpful or a needed word, he improved them. By his loving disposition he endeared himself to all in every home, and the children and grandchildren cherished the same attachment to him as their elders. He was interested in all classes of the people, and was especially thoughtful for the welfare of the fishermen of the Isles of Shoals; and after his resignation of the pastorate he was surprised and gratified to receive from them a silver fish-knife, beautifully engraved, and bearing the inscription, "An humble token of gratitude for the efficient educational and religious services rendered to them during the past twenty-seven years."

At one period of his ministry he was quite ill with a bronchial affection, and was absent for three months, going to New Orleans by sea and returning by the Mississippi River. From the impressions derived during this visit he afterwards prepared a racy and entertaining article entitled "Slavery as it appeared to a Northern man in 1844." So likewise when he went abroad subsequently for recreation, his letters were so graphic and complete — especially his descriptions of the masterpieces in the galleries of art — that on his return he delivered them as Lowell Lectures, scarcely altering a word.

Mr. Peabody's labors in New Hampshire have been comparatively forgotten, having been eclipsed by the greater and more conspicuous work of his later life. Yet he was there for a quarter of a century; and his influence was not confined to the place where he resided, for by the addresses which he delivered in all the principal towns of the State he became the leading authority in matters relating to education and the public schools. For forty years he was a trustee of Phillips Exeter Academy, and for eighteen years President of the Board; and its new dormitory is to be named "Peabody Hall," in honor of the man who gave the longest and most valuable service to the institution. Though he was engrossed with multifarious duties, he found time for literary employments, and was constantly busy with his pen, as he was through his whole life. The following volumes were issued by him during this period: "Lectures on Christian Doctrine," 1844, new edition, 1863; "Christian Consolations," 1846, ninth edition, 1890; "Conversation: Its Faults and its

Graces," 1846, several editions; five memoirs, and four sermons connected with the re-opening of the church of the South Parish.

In 1852, wishing to gain mental stimulus and avoid sinking into the ruts of commonplace, he disregarded the advice of friends and became proprietor and editor of the "North American Review," which was then the foremost literary periodical in the country. His predecessors were Alexander and Edward Everett, John G. Palfrey, Jared Sparks, Francis Bowen; and he was succeeded by James Russell Lowell and Charles Eliot Norton. It was no easy task to maintain the standard which had been reached by this Review; but he had charge of it for ten years, — at first while he was in Portsmouth, and for two or three years after he removed to Cambridge. Every number of the quarterly contained one or more articles from him, and he prepared the larger part of the book notices, so that altogether his writings filled more than sixteen hundred pages. This was enough to tax the strength of a strong man, even if he did nothing else; for his contributions were by no means superficial, but were thorough discussions of important subjects, which will repay perusal at the present day. Scarcely any prominent work was published relating to history, biography, archæology, moral philosophy, theology, travel, poetry, art, science, that was not submitted to his judgment. The object which he had in view when he entered on this undertaking was accomplished. The multitude of topics which he was obliged to consider brought to him fresh thought, which, as he said, renewed his youth so that he performed more and better work in his proper calling for the large amount of labor that he did out of it.

Among the elaborate papers which he furnished to this Review is one which, though written fifty years ago, is noteworthy for the far-sightedness of the writer, and the hopes which he entertained for the enlargement and growth of Harvard College. The Elective System at that time had not been developed and the Graduate School did not exist, while the collegiate department was comparatively small in numbers; yet he thus writes in 1845:—

"Why might there not be instituted at Cambridge a course of studies for students of much higher attainments than those now admitted,—a course on which the graduates of other colleges might be just qualified

to enter? If pupils were received at Harvard at nearly the point of literary acquisition at which they are now sent forth, the institution would become at once and long continue without a rival the University of America. Studious young men from all other colleges and from every part of the United States would be drawn together there. The studies to be pursued, the books to be read, might with propriety be left in a great degree to the option of the student. Recitations might for the most part be superseded by lectures or by critical expositions. The attainment of a degree might be made to depend on a series of thorough, searching examinations.

"An institution thus organized would be of incalculable benefit to the whole country. Its influence would be at once most sensibly felt in the (so-called) learned professions. It would remove the reproach of juvenility. It would prescribe a thorough basis of liberal culture for those who aspire to eminence in professional life. It would fix the scholarly habits of its graduates, and make them reading, thinking, improving men for life; whereas now half of our graduates can exhibit, ten years after leaving college, no marks of a liberal education except its parchment testimonial.

"But all this, desirable as it is, is more than we can at present expect, though we believe that Harvard University is destined at some future time to assume this position; and we cannot but trust that, by calling the attention of our readers to the need of higher means of culture than are now enjoyed, we may have done something towards the ultimate supply of such means."

As though his editorial and parochial labors were not sufficient, Mr. Peabody prepared sixty leading articles for the "Whig Review," 1837-1859; he furnished about forty to the "Christian Examiner," 1832-1856; he was an editor of the "Christian Register" from October, 1849, to January, 1852; and in addition he wrote for the "American Monthly," the "New England Magazine," and other publications. The number, variety, and quality of his essays show the fulness and versatility of his mind, as well as his marvellous facility of composition. In 1852 the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity was bestowed upon him by Harvard College, and in 1860 he was called to be Preacher to the University and Plummer Professor of Christian Morals.

This appointment was received with general satisfaction. It was thought to be a great gain for the College to have secured for this important position a clergyman of such high reputation; and it was felt that it would be a great benefit to

the students to be under the influence of one so widely known for his ripe culture, his broad sympathies, his unaffected piety, who exemplified what he taught. These expectations were not disappointed, for during the twenty-one years he held this office he had the esteem and love of almost every one with whom he was associated. The eminent members of the Faculty at that time — Benjamin Peirce, Cornelius Felton, Joseph Lovering, Asa Gray, Francis Bowen, Henry W. Torrey, as well as many prominent men of similar character, like Edward Everett, John G. Palfrey, Robert C. Winthrop, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and others — were his firm friends, and there existed the most cordial relations between them.

According to the terms of his professorship, he was expected to give instruction in ethics, to conduct morning prayers, and to preach on Sundays in the chapel, attendance being not optional but required. So full and varied were his attainments, however, that from time to time he taught logic, political economy, astronomy, and Hebrew, and supervised the senior forensics when there was need. Twice he was Acting President, — in 1862, after the death of C. C. Felton, and again in 1868–1869, after the retirement of Thomas Hill. Such confidence was reposed in his wisdom and judgment that rich men made him their almoner, and he distributed nearly forty thousand dollars from a single individual for needy and worthy beneficiaries.

His special office in the College, however, was that of a teacher of morals and religion, — a difficult one to fill, as has been found in whatever college it exists. In addition to the criticism which every academic teacher must expect to receive, he was called upon to set forth the highest ethical and spiritual truths. Undergraduates generally are not of an age when these verities appeal to them, as they do to others. The spirit of the place, which is and must be a spirit of inquiry, is not always favorable to faith. Students, moreover, are quick to detect any unreality or seeming inconsistency in those who hold up a high standard for others. But Dr. Peabody was so true and genuine that he drew his pupils to himself, and the more they knew him the more they were attached to him. He could not have commanded their esteem if he had not possessed the qualities that deserved it. Those who did not personally come in contact with him felt the elevating influ-

ence of his presence, and even the less serious and worthy regarded him with respect and affection. No college officer was ever the recipient of such wealth of love from successive classes during so many years. This extraordinary popularity was manifested in the tumultuous and hearty cheers which were given him on Class-Day, and which sometimes were prolonged as if they would never cease. Even after he had relinquished his official position, his name drew forth the greatest enthusiasm; and he was still requested to preach the farewell sermon to the graduating class, who felt that no one could give them such words of counsel, and who desired no other to pronounce a parting blessing. The title which was applied to him, — "Dear Old Dr. Peabody," — so different from the nicknames bestowed on others, testifies also to the deep place he held in the hearts of all. That these manifestations of reverence and affection were not prompted by any spasmodic or temporary feeling, is evident from the fact that sober-minded graduates of several years' standing shared the same sentiments. At the Commencement which marked his withdrawal from the service of the University, he was the chief figure of the hour, and was everywhere greeted with the highest proofs of personal regard.

Undoubtedly the strong attachment of the students to him was the consequence of his deep interest and love for them. He was a father to them, and they knew that they could rely on his fatherly interest in their welfare. His house was freely open to them, and they could go and unbosom themselves to him, and obtain counsel and encouragement. When they were ill, he was sure to call upon them, and his visits brought light, cheer, comfort, and (when necessary) substantial aid. He defended them in Faculty meetings, and was their friend at court; and whenever they were in trouble they would send for him. He was the one person to whom they could look for sympathy and support. He was not merely a member of the board of government, interested in enforcing the rules, but he was their pastor, well-wisher, and constant friend, and doubtless considered them as especially committed to his care. In some instances he was acquainted with their families, and knew their parents or relatives, which was an additional motive for his acting in their behalf. Above all, he was not by temperament a strict disciplinarian, and it was not his nature to be

harsh and stern. He preferred to rule by love rather than by law. He was not indifferent to what was morally wrong; but he took into account the mitigating circumstances of every action, and he administered discipline so wisely that, while he rebuked, he retained and increased the good-will of the offender.

The following incident is an illustration of his method, at the same time that it shows his tact, kind-heartedness, and judgment. Two students, during their summer vacation, were guilty of writing improper letters to certain young ladies. These letters in some manner came into the hands of the parents or guardians of the two girls, who sent them to Dr. Peabody, thinking that the matter should be investigated, and the students punished by the college authorities. When the vacation was over and the students had returned to Cambridge, they were summoned to meet Dr. Peabody, when the following conversation in substance took place: —

Dr. P. "Did you two young men spend a part of your vacation in ——?" Ans. "Yes."

Dr. P. "While there did you make the acquaintance of the Misses ——?" Students, somewhat surprised. "Yes."

Dr. P. "Well, young men, I have had some letters sent to me, alleged to have been written by you to these ladies." [Taking them from a receptacle.] "Here they are." Students become very much confused and mortified.

Dr. P. looks at them searchingly, waits a few minutes, and then speaks: "Young men, I see by your looks that there is something in these letters which disturbs you. But I have not read a word of them. My sense of honor forbade my doing so. I am entirely ignorant of what they contain, except by inference. But if they are of the nature which I infer from your embarrassment, they had better be disposed of at once." He throws them into the fire and then says slowly: "But, young men, if you have acted in a manner which brings reproach upon you, let me advise you, never do so again. Never write anything which may come back long afterwards to bring to your faces a sense of shame. Good morning, gentlemen. Never be so foolish again."

The boys, after having suffered the pangs of conscience while they were in his presence, left Dr. Peabody, feeling much relieved, but conscious that they had learned a lesson which they would never forget.

The students, on graduating from college, took with them not only the remembrance of Dr. Peabody's kindnesses, but the impress of his unselfishness, his devoutness, his pure and blameless life. This was of more value than any book-knowledge which they might have gained in the recitation-room. An extract from an article entitled "Justice to Andrew Peabody's Memory" confirms this: "To us children of an older generation, Dr. Peabody stands alone as the exponent of all that was good and pure in our college days. His devotion and patience in teaching a lot of thankless scapegraces, his ready counsel for those who sought it, his forbearance and the allowance he made for youthful follies, endeared him to us beyond all others in authority over us. His very going and coming marked the grand simplicity of the man, and his mere presence among us was a perpetual benediction." Another, who appreciated what he was, thus writes: "Those who have not known this teacher have missed a privilege very rare. To the young men of two generations he has been a guide and a friend. His voice has borne to them the intimation of the Divine presence, and the assurance of the high meaning of human life. As far as the knowledge of him has gone, so far have there been diffused new respect for the Christian faith, new confidence in the lofty possibilities of mankind, and fresh gratitude for symmetry and beauty of character." The following books were published by him while he occupied the professor's chair: "Christianity the Religion of Nature: Lectures before the Lowell Institute, Boston, 2d ed., 1864"; "Sermons to Children, 1867"; "Reminiscences of European Travel, 1868"; "A Manual of Moral Philosophy, 1873"; "Christianity and Science: Lectures before the Union Theological Seminary of New York, 1874; London, 1875"; "Christian Belief and Life, 1875." The degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him by Rochester University in 1863.

Dr. Peabody had determined that when he reached the age of seventy, he would resign his position; and he carried out his purpose, although some of his friends regretted it, and endeavored to dissuade him from it. He was at once made Professor Emeritus; and this office he held twelve years, until his death. He now made a third visit to Europe, where, accompanied by his family, he spent a year, while the place left vacant in

the College was occupied by different ministers, and is now filled by six clergymen of various denominations. He was so much benefited by his journey abroad, that he came back with the feeling that he had thrown off a full half-score of years. He was immediately elected a member of the Board of Overseers, and was re-elected, and served in all ten years. He resumed his literary work, and his productions were as abundant and vigorous as ever. He published his "Baccalaureate Sermons" in 1885. He translated five ethical treatises of Cicero and Plutarch, adding to each volume an Introduction, a Synopsis and Notes, 1883-1886. A series of Lectures on Moral Philosophy appeared in 1887. This was followed by two delightful books entitled "Harvard Reminiscences," 1888, and "Harvard Graduates whom I have Known," 1890. Though he was not a brilliant speaker, with an imposing presence, a commanding voice, a fascinating delivery, he was in constant demand for the supply of pulpits. During the illness and after the death of the late Rev. Henry W. Foote, he preached to his society, and printed a volume of "King's Chapel Sermons" in 1891. He officiated every summer at the Nahant church, which is attended by those who hold different forms and creeds; and in 1894 a tablet was placed upon its walls "in memory of his acceptable ministrations to this church."

Dr. Peabody was not only a prolific writer, he was active in all good enterprises affecting the city in which he lived. He was interested in its charitable institutions; and he was chairman of the committee of clergymen, Catholic and Protestant, which for several successive years carried through the policy of "No License." He was for twelve years a prominent member of the School Committee; and one of the newest and best schoolhouses bears his name, and his portrait by E. T. Billings hangs in the Peabody School. He was Vice-President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and when asked if he would accept the Presidency, he replied that he would do so if he were younger, and he mentioned some changes which he would be glad to introduce. He was Vice-President of the American Antiquarian Society, and also of the American Oriental Society. For more than thirty years he was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a portrait of him by F. P. Vinton has been given to

it by Mrs. John L. Sibley. He was for seventeen years one of the managers of the Perkins Institution for the Blind ; and for fifty years he was a Vice-President of the American Peace Society, besides being at the head of many other charitable and religious societies. He was connected with Harvard University, from the time he entered as a student, thirty-nine years,¹ and no one ever served it in a more varied capacity. There is a marble bust of him in Gore Hall ; a portrait by Vinton will ultimately come into possession of the College ; and on the walls of Appleton Chapel has been affixed a bronze tablet, a gift of the Alumni, who also have established a fund for deserving students, in memory of him, thus continuing the work which it was his highest delight to do, and associating his name with it for all future generations. The inscription on the tablet is as follows :—

ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY, D.D., LL.D.

PLUMMER PROFESSOR OF CHRISTIAN MORALS AND PREACHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

BORN AT BEVERLY, MARCH 19, 1811

DIED AT CAMBRIDGE, MARCH 10, 1893

AUTHOR, EDITOR, TEACHER, PREACHER, HELPER OF MEN

THREE GENERATIONS LOOKED TO HIM

AS TO A BENEFACTOR, A FRIEND, A FATHER

HIS PRECEPT WAS GLORIFIED BY HIS EXAMPLE

WHILE FOR THIRTY-THREE YEARS

HE MOVED AMONG THE TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

AND WIST NOT THAT HIS FACE SHONE

Dr. Peabody's last years were serene and peaceful, — a fitting crown to his long and useful life. Though old age had whitened his hair, it seemed not to have benumbed or palsied his spirit. His intellectual powers were unimpaired, and there was the same freshness of thought and aptness and terseness of expression. He grew ripe and mellow as he grew older.

¹ Student in College, 1824-1826	2 years.
In Divinity School, 1829-1832	3 "
Tutor, 1832-1833	1 "
Preacher and Professor, 1860-1881	21 "
Acting President, 1862, 1868-1869.	
Professor Emeritus, 1881-1893	12 "
Overseer, 1883-1893.	—
	39 years.

There was no querulousness or impatience, but only calmness, gentleness, sweetness in all that he said and did. His popularity was unbounded, and old and young delighted to do him honor. Venerable in aspect, he received love and reverence wherever he went; and when he rose in an assembly to offer prayer, there was a profound stillness, as if all recognized that here was a man who walked with God.

The death of Dr. Peabody at the age of 82 years created a profound impression. It occurred on March 10, 1893, after a month's illness resulting from a serious fall. It was felt by thousands of graduates as a public loss, and still more as a personal bereavement. Words of sorrow were expressed not only by the societies of which he was a member, but by religious bodies with which he had no official connection. This action was unprecedented in this community. The Baptist Pastors' Union said, "With men of every religious communion the members of this body join in paying the tribute of affectionate and reverent regard for the memory of the Christian Scholar, Preacher, and Citizen, by whose death the whole community is afflicted." The Clerical Association of the Episcopal Church signified their high appreciation of his noble life and character; and the Evangelical Alliance testified that he had been in the front rank of Christian writers and speakers, going up and down the State in services to religion and education. Eulogies were uttered in distant cities of the South and West, his pupils being scattered through every part of the country. A contributor to a leading Review alluded to the saintly Dr. Peabody, in whose company one lost the sense of friction and irritation which contact with the life of the day had produced, and took on involuntarily something of his restfulness and benignity. Another writer declared that what Arnold was to the boys at Rugby, Peabody was to the boys at Harvard. A Boston journalist remarked that Dr. Peabody was beloved and honored and trusted as no University preacher was ever trusted and honored, and that the only likeness to this in modern days was the influence exerted by Dr. Jowett of Oxford. The following lines are the conclusion of a poem which indicates the sentiments of very many who admired Dr. Peabody:—

"In the proud Memorial Hall
Let his portrait grace the wall;

Let the sculptor's godlike art
For the noblest do its part;
Let memorial building rise
Broad and lofty to the skies.
Build what monument ye can
To the friend of fellow-man,
No memorial can express
Half his nature's worthiness,
No memorial can reveal
Love that sons of Harvard feel."

Dr. Peabody's industry was amazing. He was a rigid economist of time. He improved every moment, and his untiring activity was the perpetual wonder of all who knew him. His literary productiveness never ceased, and even after his death articles were published which he had written, but which he did not live to read. Besides his books, reviews, innumerable articles, extensive correspondence, and weekly sermons, he printed two hundred pamphlets, which, if bound up together, would make a small library. These include Phi Beta Kappa orations and addresses at Dartmouth (1843), Harvard (1845), Brown (1858), Amherst (1867), Williams (1877); centennial commemorations, like that at Cambridge (1875); discourses at ordinations, dedications, and anniversaries; monographs on timely questions; and reports of committees on the High School and the College. He delivered the Dudleian Lecture in 1856, and he preached the sermon before the Legislature of Massachusetts at the annual election in 1872. He contributed chapters to important works, such as the Memorial History of Boston, Annals of King's Chapel, Annals of the American Unitarian Pulpit, authorship of the Fourth Gospel, and many others. As he had no amanuensis, the mere manual labor involved in writing out all those dissertations and correcting proof would to many persons be simply appalling. So accustomed was he to this, however, that he said that he felt "lost" if he had nothing in the press. His custom was to think slowly and write rapidly; and when he was to deliver an address on a special topic, he wished to be notified several weeks beforehand in order that he might meditate upon the subject, but after he had done this, he could put his thoughts on paper in a few hours.

Though he was constantly busy, he never seemed to be in

a hurry, but was calm and placid, and his manuscript was ready for the printer at the appointed time. He was not disturbed by being interrupted, and he was always willing to lay aside his pen in order to see a friend, or listen to an appeal, or to give counsel, or undertake new work. He rarely appeared wearied or exhausted, and his freshness and buoyancy were remarkable. Meeting him in the cars as he was returning to Cambridge late on Saturday evening, I said to him, "I suppose that you are ready for Sunday." "No," he answered, "I am going home to prepare for to-morrow." On my expressing surprise he added, "It rests me to write a sermon." In truth, his sermons were only the natural outbreathing of his spirit. Dr. Peabody could not have accomplished this vast amount of labor, working more than ten hours a day and often far into the night, so that his lamp was burning in the early morning, if he had not possessed a strong physical constitution. He kept it in repair by daily exercise, so that he was almost incapable of fatigue, was seldom ill, and was uniformly in good working order. He enjoyed mountain-climbing, and regarded it as the highest physical luxury possible, since it brought one set of muscles into play going up and another set going down. He frequently walked five or six, and sometimes even ten miles, before and after service on Sunday, when he went to exchange with another minister. For a large part of his success he was indebted to his stalwart frame and robust health, and especially to his indomitable will, which enabled him to accomplish whatever he undertook.

His scholarship covered a broad field, and his erudition was extensive. He was familiar with all the departments of his profession, and also was acquainted with philosophy, history, and general literature. He was a constant reader of the classics, which he admired as unsurpassed vehicles of thought and speech, and which he considered most helpful in forming a good English style of writing. Mathematical truth he valued as necessary and absolute truth, which must have been true before all worlds; and, so far as we grasp it, he maintained, God gives us glimpses of the plan of the universe, permits us to handle the compasses with which he meted out the earth and spread the heavens, and enables us to see precisely as he sees. "To undervalue mathematics were blasphemy, did not the stupidity of the offender cancel his guilt." Dr. Peabody's

knowledge was not only theoretical, but practical. He lectured at the Concord School of Philosophy on the Life and Times of Plato, and on the Ethics of Aristotle; and he prepared an article on the Prevention of Fires in American Cities, which an insurance company in Philadelphia caused to be reprinted and extensively circulated, and several of the recommendations of which have been adopted. At the commencement of the Harvard Medical School in 1870 he delivered an address on "What the Physician should be"; and he wrote for the Smithsonian Institution at Washington a paper on "The Scientific Education of Mechanics and Artisans." Of course he was not an expert on these several subjects, and did not possess a minute knowledge of all their details. But he had wide learning, sagacity, and experience, a comprehensive and well-furnished mind, and his addresses were profitable and interesting. Undoubtedly if he had concentrated his talents and energy, he might have produced some great work, which would have given him rank among thinkers and scholars, and perhaps have secured for him fame in future generations. But he would then have sacrificed the influence which he exerted on his contemporaries and on the rising generation, and he would not have served the present age as he did by responding to the numerous calls which were made upon him. He was in favor of maintaining a high standard of education for those who were preparing for the ministry, and during four successive years he offered the sum of two hundred dollars to be given in prizes for excellence in Semitic studies.

As a man Dr. Peabody was genial and companionable, and a favorite in every social circle. He was no book-worm or recluse, but he enjoyed society, especially the meetings of the Boston Wednesday Evening Club, of which he was an honorary member. His presence was often desired at private and public celebrations, and he generally went, and added much to the enjoyment of these occasions. On meeting others, at first he was reserved and reticent; but when a subject was once started, he entered into it with animation and earnestness, and poured forth his rich stores of information, enlivened often with sparkling reminiscence and spicy anecdote, which gave a peculiar charm to his conversation. He took pleasure in listening to a good story, and he could tell many a good one himself.

When he was an undergraduate, the system prevailed of fining students for absence from prayers, — three cents being exacted for each delinquency, and the whole amount being charged in the term bill ; and Dr. Peabody relates that on one occasion a member of his class, after an absence in his first year, was notified by the class tutor of his fine, whereupon he sent him a dollar bill and requested change ; but the Freshman was suspended. Dr. Peabody was faithful and true to his many friends, and his greetings were always cordial, for his heart went with his hand. But his most beautiful traits were manifested in his home. Here he was an ideal husband and father, and the best he had he lavished on those who were dearest to him. He loved to share with them whatever particularly interested him, and they in return were very attentive and devoted to him. The sharp sorrows which he experienced he bore with Christian faith and fortitude ; but the world did not know their bitterness, for he did not relax his work or refrain from the performance of any duty. He married, three years after his settlement in Portsmouth, Catherine Whipple, daughter of Edmund Roberts of that city, who died in 1869 ; and of eight children, three daughters now survive.

But, after all, Dr. Peabody's greatest influence was exerted through his character. He inspired men by what he was, more than by what he taught. In his presence one felt that he was in a purer atmosphere. His religion was not something apart from his daily life, but it was an aroma that was perpetually exhaled from it. A stranger could not meet him and converse with him without being impressed by his spirituality and goodness. Benignity was written on his countenance. He had a profound reverence for sacred things, and he was deeply stirred by any irreverence. He exhibited great firmness and independence, both of opinion and action. He had courage to condemn openly any act of injustice or wrong, and yet he was simple and unassuming as a child. He had much shrewdness and worldly wisdom, and could readily discern the right course in practical matters. His thoughtful and refined courtesy was the natural expression of his gracious spirit. He was conscientious in the discharge of little duties, was seldom absent from the meeting of any society of which he was a member, and was prompt in keeping his appointments. He had great sympathy and tenderness, and was easily moved,

especially on occasions of solemnity and sorrow, and his voice betrayed his emotions. He had a generous estimate of others, and preferred to see their excellences rather than their defects, and in his biographical sketches he said that he knew not how to paint in the shadows. He was never satisfied with simply performing the duties that were required of him. He gave freely of his time and strength to others. He compressed the work of three or four lives into one, and kept on growing till the last moment.

Dr. Peabody was noted for his broad, catholic, unsectarian spirit. He had his own decided convictions, but he appreciated the worth and work of those who differed from him. He recognized the fruits of the Spirit wherever they were manifested, and he rejoiced to feel that he was in accord with all sincere and devout persons by whatever name they might be called. The rector of an Episcopal church in New Jersey said: "He was not the most eloquent, not the most graceful, not the most learned man in the world. You could not compare him with Isaiah or Paul. But you could not help likening him to Saint John, the beloved disciple, who was so near to his Master that he imbibed a large share of his heavenly-mindedness. Half a dozen years ago it fell to my lot to read some verses in response to a toast on the 'Clerical Sons of the University' at a Harvard Club dinner in Chicago. There were churchmen and Roman Catholics and Jews and men of all denominations present at that merry-making; and as soon as I mentioned the name of this plain, modest, unobtrusive man of God, the entire company rose to their feet and gave nine thundering cheers. It was no tribute to the verses nor to the writer, but simply the just honor due to one whose greatest eulogy is: 'He served the Lord and wrought righteousness.'"

Dr. Peabody's ecclesiastical relations can be understood from his own words. In 1886 he said: "While I regard the portion of the Christian Church with which I am associated as my religious home, in which, as I was born and baptized in it, I hope to stay so long as I have a home on earth, I am more and more impressed with the belief that all the leading sects of Christendom have a just claim on our regard for the very dogmas in which they seem most to differ from us; for there is hardly one of those dogmas which is not the maimed or

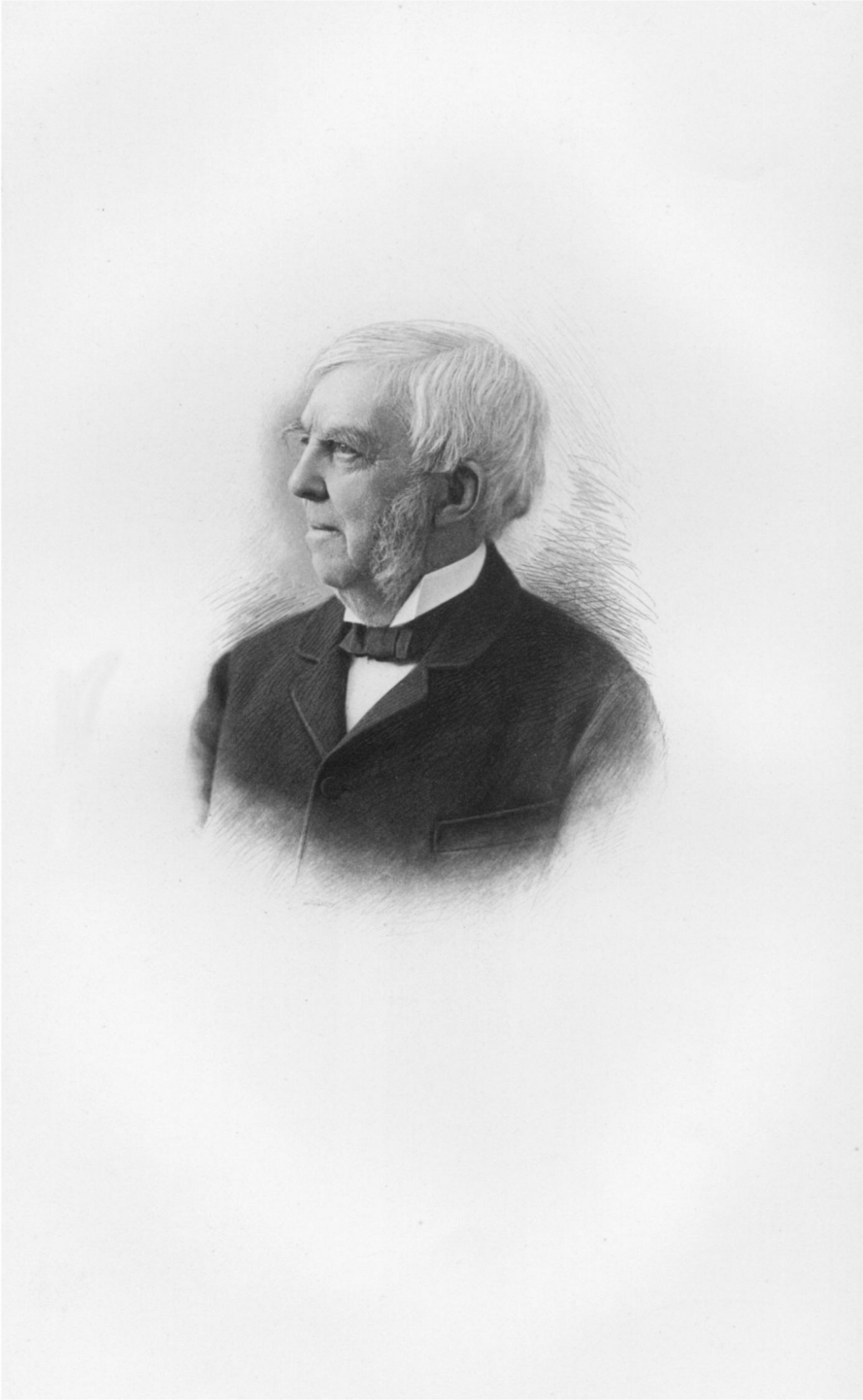
distorted reflection of some truth which we neglect or ignore only to our cost and detriment."

Again in 1889 he wrote:—

"Circumstances have placed me in intimate relations with many ministers and Christian men and women of all our leading denominations, and I am fully convinced that there is among the various portions of the church a much more nearly equable distribution of God's choicest gifts than bigoted sectarians are willing to admit. I have in no quarter of the church failed to find many whom I could both admire and love. Yet, were I to select special models as Christians and ministers, I should not need to look beyond the pale of those ministers of our faith whom I learned to love and honor in my youth, and whose memory is among the blessed and priceless privileges of my old age."

During Dr. Peabody's residence in Cambridge he came in contact with numberless students, and touched more lives than could be reached by a minister of the largest city parish. The remembrance of him in the University which he loved, and which he served so long, cannot pass away; but he will be associated with Harvard as Mark Hopkins, who was his intimate friend, is associated with Williams College, and as Theodore D. Woolsey and Francis Wayland are associated with Yale and Brown Universities. And when we call to mind the literary, religious, educational, philanthropic institutions and societies with which he has been identified, the memorials that have been erected in his honor, and the imperishable monument which he has built by the influence he has exerted on individuals and the community, we may apply to him the words of the Latin poet,—

*"Ergo etiam, cum me supremus adederit ignis,
Vivam: parsque mei multa superstes erit."*



MEMOIR

OF

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, D.C.L.

BY JOHN T. MORSE, JR.

A DOCTRINE upon which Dr. Holmes took great pains to insist, to the point of getting himself into much discredit with many of the more strict religionists of his day, was that of the controlling force of inherited influences. One would have expected that such a chief among the teachers of the principles of heredity would be a careful student concerning his own ancestry. Yet the contrary was the case, and what knowledge of his forefathers Dr. Holmes had came to him casually and by reason of interest felt by others rather than by himself. He knew that Thomas Holmes, a lawyer, of Gray's Inn, in the sixteenth century, was one of his ancestors; but it would seem that he never surely knew whether or not the line ran through Sir Robert Holmes and Admiral Charles Holmes, "Wolfe's contemporary," though both were men of sufficient note to make kinship with them a matter of satisfaction. The first cis-atlantic Holmes of whom there is record was named John, who, in 1686, was "taken in, on the way, by the company of 'Goers,'" that is to say, settlers, who had a grant of the lands which afterward constituted the town of Woodstock in Connecticut. Among them John Holmes made himself noteworthy by his capacity for doing many useful things and by his enterprising spirit. In that same neighborhood his descendants remained for many generations; they were of the better class of the semi-rural population of New England, God-fearing and industrious, respecting knowledge and practising virtue, and moderately prosperous in worldly matters. Abiel Holmes, the father of Oliver Wendell Holmes, was graduated

at Yale College "with honour and a respectable part at Commencement" in 1783; and he married for his first wife Mary, daughter of the Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D., who was then the president of that College. For several years after this marriage he was settled as the minister of a parish in Georgia. Afterward he returned to the North, and became pastor of the First Congregational Church in Cambridge. In 1801 he married, in second nuptials, Sarah Wendell, daughter of the Hon. Oliver Wendell, of Boston. She was one of the large and influential family of that name, of whom the first American ancestor came from Holland to Albany, New York, about 1640. Thomas Dudley, twice governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, had a daughter Anne, famous as "The Tenth Muse," who married Simon Bradstreet, also twice governor; the granddaughter of this couple married Dr. James Oliver, and their daughter Sarah married Jacob Wendell, who had come from Albany to Boston; his son married Mary Jackson, the daughter of Edward (the son of Jonathan), who had married Dorothy Quincy. Thus was Dr. Holmes descended from the "Dorothy Q." of his charming poem, and from whom also his wife was descended.

The father of Dr. Holmes was a handsome gentleman, kindly and amiable, with a taste for writing verses which were moderately good, and a more useful turn for historical research, which bore fruit in his "Annals of America," a book of substantial merit and once well known, though of late superseded by more modern writings. He was a tolerably rigid Calvinist of the stern old school, and believed, or thought that he believed, the many hideous things which the great Jonathan Edwards had taught to his disciples. But his wife's family, having prospered in mercantile pursuits and lived in larger communities, had acquired also more expanded ways of thinking, and it would seem that the children felt their mother's influence as an emollient for the dread theology of the reverend gentleman. She was a vivacious, clever lady, of social instincts, sympathetic, perhaps one might say emotional, and very much loved and esteemed by her neighbors. Those who knew her personally or by tradition have said that her distinguished son owed more of his mental traits to her than to his father.

On August 29, 1809, Oliver Wendell Holmes was born.

His father recorded the fact in a little almanac by placing an asterisk opposite the date; and the footnote, to which the asterisk referred, was simply "son b." Long years afterwards, when the Doctor found this almanac, he was greatly amused at so casual and brief a mention of what he himself had a right to regard as a rather important circumstance.

The boy went to the schools of the neighborhood until he was fifteen years old, and was then sent to Phillips Academy at Andover, doubtless with at least a willingness on his father's part that he should become a clergyman. But the youngster had had his fill of the clerical gentry at home, where it would seem that not many of his father's visitors had agreeably impressed him. So the Academy, during the year of his stay there, only made him ready for Harvard College, not for the ministry. He entered college, with credit, as a member of the Class of 1829, — "the famous Class of '29," as it has been so often called, being entitled to the flattering adjective partly because it contained an unusual number of men who gained distinction in later life, but undoubtedly greatly helped in its reputation by the fact that Dr. Holmes became its bard and sang songs for it. Among these were some of his most charming lyrics; and at least one was written every year, from (and including) 1851 to 1889, when "After the Curfew" closed the brilliant series with its last pathetic verse, —

"So ends 'The Boys,' — a lifelong play.

We too must hear the Prompter's call

To fairer scenes and brighter day:

Farewell! I let the curtain fall."

Thus far, in boyhood and youth, Dr. Holmes had shown no precocity which could be regarded as giving promise of his future brilliant career. He himself says that, up to the time of his graduation, he had read singularly few books; and his letters written during these years, though lively, are not especially clever. The year after his graduation he passed in the Dane Law School; but he did not take kindly to the law, and yielded to literary instincts which seemed then first to assert themselves. His friend John O. Sargent, of the Class of 1830, was editing "The Collegian," and the law student liked to contribute verses to this magazine much better than to attend the lectures of the learned professors Story and Ash-

mun. Some of these effusions were afterward saved among the later collections of his poetry, but most of them the Doctor absolutely refused to have republished. But in this year one lyric outburst made him for the moment famous. He happened one day to read a paragraph in a newspaper stating that the old historic frigate, the "Constitution," in the Navy Yard at Charlestown, was ordered to be destroyed as useless. Stirred by the news, he rapidly scratched off with a pencil on a scrap of paper — literally *stans pede in uno* at his father's mantel-piece — the ringing stanzas of "Old Ironsides," and sent them to the "Boston Daily Advertiser." A few days later they were being sung all over the country, were even printed in handbills and circulated about the streets in Washington. It would be difficult to say whether the young poet or the Secretary of the Navy was the more astonished at the development of this entirely unexpected condition; but the frigate was saved, and Oliver Wendell Holmes was heard of.

At the end of his unsatisfactory year of law Holmes left it for medicine. He studied for a while in a private school conducted by Dr. James Jackson and other physicians practising in Boston, and, having satisfied himself that he had made no mistake in his choice this time, he went abroad to complete his education in Paris. He sailed on March 30, 1833, and got home again in the last month of the year 1835. During this period he had the advantage of studying under Louis, and the most famous French physicians and surgeons of that day; he found time in the vacation seasons for trips through the Low Countries, England, and Scotland, and finally into Italy; but during all the lecture terms he worked with great steadiness and earnestness, became profoundly interested in his profession, and was well equipped for practice when he set up his professional door-plate in Boston. But none the less patients came slowly to the young doctor, and he found leisure enough for collateral pursuits. In 1836-37 he won three Boylston prizes; and for two years — 1839, 1840 — he delivered lectures on anatomy during August, September, and October, at Dartmouth College. In 1842 he wrote his two papers on homœopathy, in which occur, though probably few people know it, some of his most brilliant similes and his keenest wit. He had no love for that "pseudo-science," as he called it; and he wrote trenchantly. In 1843 he published his famous essay on

the "Contagiousness of Puerperal Fever." It subjected him to violent and even grossly abusive attacks for some time, especially at the hands of certain professors in Philadelphia. But it embodied a great truth, which in time prevailed, revolutionizing the practice of midwifery and winning for Dr. Holmes just renown as one who had saved countless lives by a substantial and invaluable contribution to medical science. He gained also much credit for refusing to be drawn into an angry personal controversy, which might have imperilled the success of a cause which he earnestly believed to involve an important interest for mankind.

On June 15, 1840, Dr. Holmes married Amelia Lee Jackson, third daughter of Hon. Charles Jackson, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. The children of this marriage were: Oliver Wendell Holmes, who became a lieutenant-colonel in the War of the Rebellion, and is now an Associate Justice upon the same Bench on which his grandfather sat; Amelia Jackson Holmes, who married Turner Sargent, of Boston, and died, childless, in 1889; and Edward Jackson Holmes, who married Henrietta Wigglesworth, of Boston, and died in 1884, leaving one son, Edward Jackson Holmes.

In 1847 Dr. Holmes received the appointment of Parkman Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Medical School of Harvard University; in addition to these two subjects he was sometimes called upon to give instruction also in microscopy and even in matters akin to psychology. This multiplicity of functions led him to say that he occupied not a chair, but a settee in the School. The preposterousness of demanding so much from one man was obvious, and in course of time, in 1871, the situation was rendered more reasonable by the establishment of a separate professorship for physiology. Dr. Holmes continued to deliver the anatomical lectures until November, 1882. It was doubtless the case that he was not induced to this long continuance of functions, which were more laborious than they seemed, solely by reason of the annual emolument. The truth was that he was much enamoured of his profession, and would have been extremely loath to find himself severed from it. His success in literature never displaced his interest in medical science, and he sedulously guarded and maintained his comradeship in the fraternity of

physicians. Nor would they have been less reluctant to let him go. Professor William Osler well said of him, "He will always occupy a unique position in the affections of medical men. Not a practitioner, yet he retained for the greater part of his active life the most intimate connection with the profession. . . . The festivals at Epidaurus were never neglected by him; and as the most successful combination which the world has ever seen of the physician and the man of letters, he has for years sat amid the Æsculapians in the seat of honor." At the banquets of the brotherhood he was the generous purveyor of wit and wisdom in poetry and in prose, and they made free use of his serviceable ability.

From 1847 to 1853 he was Dean of the Medical School. In 1852 he was anniversary chairman at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society. In 1860 he was the orator at the annual meeting of the same Society. When at last in his old age he was obliged to retire from active service, the physicians of New York gave in his honor a great festival at Delmonico's.

As a lecturer on anatomy, he was fortunate in having a department wherein novelty and development necessarily came in limited measure; but he never fell into the habit of reading to his class old lectures, as clergymen deliver old sermons; by constant study and preparation he aimed always at freshness of treatment. He was not, perhaps, exceptionally distinguished as a lecturer or instructor, but he certainly was fully equal to the requirements of the position. One rare gift he had which was soon recognized and made use of, — he, and he alone, could hold the attention of the fagged and turbulent classes of the medical students of those days, who were sent to listen to him during their fifth hour of consecutive attendance at lectures! Dr. David W. Cheever¹ and Professor Thomas Dwight,² who both had assisted him as "demonstrators," have borne eloquent testimony to his extraordinary capacity in this respect. Even over the dry bones his wit sparkled; his similes and imagery delighted the crude and often rough youths before him; his courtesy, his patience, his amiable temper subdued them into comparative quietude and even attention. It was his rule always to address himself to the lower rather than to the

¹ In the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, vol. iii. no. 10, December, 1894.

² *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. xvii. no. 1, January, 1895.

higher half of the class; and Professor Dwight thinks that it was a "part of his humanity" to do so. A greater scientist might have been less successful in imparting knowledge. For, in fact, it cannot be said that Dr. Holmes became a great scientist. He might have been so, had he had a little more persistence, a somewhat greater infusion of the Dryasdust in his rather eager and impetuous temperament. His fertile, imaginative mind often shed suggestions, and then left them for other men to push farther towards valuable results, which he never had the patience quite to arrive at.

It should be said of him, before dismissing this part of his life, that he maintained a careful equilibrium in all the matters of advance and innovation which arose during his long incumbency as a member of the medical faculty. He was always progressive, yet he did not wish to go at a gallop; he did not want to strike a pace which would upset the cart and spill its valuable contents, — if the simile is not too undignified. Dr. Cheever says that he "was at heart favorable to advance, but he was timid as to the losses and dangers of radical changes, although not a violent opponent." The great struggle for the admission of women students to the Medical School was waged in his day. His position compelled him to vote on the question, and he voted in the negative. Perhaps he would have liked to remain silent, had he been free to do so; for it is by no means certain how he stood in what was then, if it is not so still, the great controversy concerning women as practising physicians. Dr. Cheever thinks he "inclined to the claims" of the women, and Dr. Dwight is of the like opinion; yet there are remarks in his writings which would indicate much doubt in his mind, if not an actually contrary opinion. When the smoke of this great battle was lifting, if not altogether gone, at the opening of the new building of the Harvard Medical School, Dr. Holmes delivered an address, and Professor Dwight tells the following anecdote: —

"On this occasion, after speaking in his most perfect style on woman as a nurse, with a pathos free from mawkishness which Dickens rarely reached, he concluded: 'I have always felt that this was rather the vocation of woman than general medical, and especially surgical, practice.' This was the signal for loud applause from the conservative side. When he could resume, he went on: 'Yet I myself followed the course of lectures given by the young Madame Lachapelle in Paris; and if here

and there an intrepid woman insists on taking by storm the fortress of medical education, I would have the gate flung open to her, as if it were that of the citadel of Orleans and she were Joan of Arc returning from the field of victory.' The enthusiasm which this sentiment called forth was so overwhelming that those of us who had led the first applause felt, perhaps looked, rather foolish."

Meantime also, being under the common necessity of making money to pay his bills, Dr. Holmes was engaged very actively in delivering other lectures besides professional ones. The generation was smitten with the lecturing mania. Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Russell Lowell, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, Dr. Kane, and many more scarcely less familiar names, sent out what they had to say from the lecture platform before they put it in print; Thackeray and Froude and Alfred Bunn crossed the Atlantic to do likewise; and their audiences were composed of the people whom it was best worth while to address in all the country. The small towns, even the villages, followed the example of the cities and had their "lyceum courses." Dr. Holmes played a busy part in this labor. He delivered a course of twelve lectures on the English poets at the Lowell Institute, closing each one with an original poem of his own. But besides this he travelled about the country, earning the small fees of that day with much toil and no little disgust. He extremely disliked the travelling, the cold inns, or "best bedrooms," the bad food, the stifling cars. As he himself expressed it, he was apt to return from such forays with a cold in the head as bad as a horse distemper. He suffered severely from asthma, of which such journeys were very provocative; and it is safe to say that he looked upon this element in his life with less satisfaction than upon any other.

All this while, of course, he was collaterally practising medicine, and he built up a fair, though not a really extensive business. In fact, his heart was not enough in the occupation to make him greatly successful as a practitioner; he acknowledged afterward that he did not make sufficiently strenuous efforts to secure practice. He had some admirable qualifications for it, — a faithful conscientiousness even to the point of over-anxiety, and a faculty of observation so keen and close as is rarely given to any man. But sick-beds were painful to him, and moreover the public perhaps had some distrust of a

man so well known as a wit and not unknown as a poet. For all this while the Doctor had been occasionally uttering his lyrics. In 1836 he had been the Phi Beta Kappa poet, and in the same year he had published this poem, with many of his shorter pieces, in a volume. Later, another edition, with additions, was published. He had had his attack of "lead-poisoning," and of course could never get over it. It was a pleasant sensation to see the volume with his name on the back, but it hardly helped him in the popular estimation as a physician. Most of the lyrics were light, rollicking effusions of wit and merriment; but "The Last Leaf" was there among them, one of the most delicate combinations of pathos and humor in literature.

Thus the long procession of the years glided lightly and pleasantly by, and there was nothing yet to indicate that Dr. Holmes's name would be remembered after his own contemporaries should have passed off the stage. They knew him only as a clever man, a medical professor who lectured creditably, a poet whose lines were good enough to have been once or twice gathered into a volume, a shrewd humorist, a merry wit, delightful in the chance encounter, not to be surpassed at the dinner-table, and of much usefulness upon so-called "occasions"; and this was all as yet. But a new departure was at hand. Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. projected a new magazine. "Putnam's Magazine" had perished in an undeserved failure, and the country had no literary periodical of high repute. The firm invited James Russell Lowell to act as editor. He consented to do so, but with the proviso, as a "condition precedent," that Dr. Holmes would agree to be a contributor. The invitation surprised the Doctor as much as it flattered him. Hitherto he had felt himself, as he says, quite outside of the literary circle, which was then made up chiefly of residents in Cambridge, with some in Boston and a few in Concord. He had not been one of the guild. Most of these men were engaged in promoting "causes,"—abolition, temperance, emancipation from Calvinism, etc. Many years before this time efforts had been made to enlist Dr. Holmes in the like service; but he had resolutely declined, and there is a long and very interesting letter extant, which he wrote to Mr. Lowell in 1846, in reply to a letter from Mr. Lowell to him, which unfortunately cannot be found, but which had evidently taken him

to task pretty strenuously for standing aloof from the stress of these moral struggles.

So now the Doctor would hardly have expected to find so high a value placed upon his adhesion to the new enterprise. He hesitated, but briefly; an instinct was stirred within him to which he could not fail to yield. He agreed to write; he even suggested the name for the new magazine, — "The Atlantic." Mr. Howells afterward said that he "not only named, but made" it. For the enterprise was launched in a most disastrous time; scarcely was it started, when the financial panic of 1857 swept over the country; men who had previously been reckless of their dollars now became anxious custodians of their cents, and thought more than twice before they would lay down even the twenty-five-cent piece which the new magazine cost. Often they would not have laid it down, had they not been under the strong spell of the "Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table." Those fresh and brilliant papers, too witty to be weighty, too wise to be frivolous, came like rays of cheering sunshine into the daily lives of the anxious men of business; they could not do without such medicine. It is not an extravagance to say that the country waited with impatience for each new number, and the monthly interval seemed all too long. They were something new in literature; they were sparkling, delightful, instructive, fascinating. Yet in fact they were not absolutely a new birth. "I was just going to say, when I was interrupted" — was the first sentence of the "Autocrat"; for he had been born long before in the shape of two papers which the Doctor had contributed to the "New England Magazine," a periodical which had lived a short life from 1831 to 1835. But these forerunners, though much like the later papers in spirit and style, and though only a little inferior in quality, the Doctor would never allow to be republished; so the "Autocrat" whom the world knows began his career at the breakfast-table in the first number of the "Atlantic."

It is not worth while, indeed it would be out of place here, to indulge in literary comment on this book. Everything has been said about it which can be said by hosts of writers of the critic band. But the novelty of the conception, of the style and execution, should not be forgotten, only because the world has become familiar with it. Nothing, of course, can be absolutely new in literature; but these papers came as near to being

a creation as anything can come: they showed the creative intellect; they entitled Dr. Holmes's admirers to say that the fire which burned in him was fed by genius rather than by talents. The twelve papers made him at once famous, not only in the United States, but throughout England, and in time also upon the Continent of Europe, though of course a close familiarity with the English language was essential to a just appreciation of them. Only a small percentage of their racy and *racial* qualities could be transferred into another tongue.

It was now evident that Dr. Holmes could write prose which was far better than his poetry; yet poetry was by no means, therefore, abandoned. It was, however, in a certain way subordinated to prose, his lyrics being hereafter embalmed in his prose articles. Thus "The Chambered Nautilus," which Whittier said was "booked for immortality," appeared in one of the Autocrat papers, and similar gems were sprinkled liberally throughout the Breakfast Table Series. This was well, for Dr. Holmes was essentially a lyric poet, a "singer," and his longer and more elaborate efforts will be forgotten many years before his shorter poems are allowed to sink out of memory. Like Horace, he was especially happy upon "occasions," and the verses which he was induced to write upon such special provocations have in an unusual degree the elements of vitality and permanent charm. Yet the Doctor had a certain uneasy feeling about these verses, which he could make so charmingly. "These occasional poems are fatal to any poet save Dr. Holmes," said Whittier; and the Doctor feared that, if not fatal, they might at least be unwholesome even for him. He once wrote to Mr. Lowell:—

"It seems to me that I have done almost enough of this work; *too much*, some of my friends will say perhaps. But it has been as much from good nature as from vanity that I have so often got up and jangled my small string of bells. I hold it to be a gift of a certain value to be able to give that slight passing spasm of pleasure which a few ringing couplets often cause, read at the right moment. Though they are for the most part to poetry as the beating of a drum or the tinkling of a triangle is to the harmony of a band, yet it is not everybody who can get their limited significance out of those humble instruments. I think, however, that I have made myself almost too common by my readiness to oblige people on all sorts of occasions. At any rate, many of the trifles, which served their turn with the bouquets and the confectionery, ought to have withered and crumbled with them."

This jealousy concerning his reputation as a poet indicates Dr. Holmes's real ambition, which unquestionably was to be thought a poet much more than anything else. The fascination of that word of charm had bewitched him, as it has so many others. It implied genius, inspiration, a spark of the divine fire, — embellishments not regarded as necessary for the full equipment of the best man who ever wrote mere prose. It signified that he was one of a very small band; also that, at least for a long while yet to come, he would not glide down the sloping road to oblivion. So beyond a doubt Dr. Holmes wanted to be esteemed a genuine *poet*; and in the moments in which he pictured himself to himself in the most pleasing light, it was as a poet. He occasionally spoke of his manner of writing poetry, — to the effect that when he took his pen in hand he knew not whither it would carry him; he became but a voice for the thought which was sent to him. Such is the formula for poetic inspiration. He who receives it is called a genius. Was there such inspiration for him? Was he, in poetry, a genius? Let each of his readers answer for himself; this memoirist shirks the responsibility of guiding any one's judgment in so momentous a matter.

Nearly coeval in birth with the "Atlantic Monthly" was the beginning of the Saturday Club, — an institution very famous in Boston and a great element in the Doctor's life. He says: "At about the same time [with the establishment of the magazine] there grew up in Boston a literary association which became at last well known as the 'Saturday Club,' the members dining together on the last Saturday of every month. The magazine and the club . . . have often been thought to have some organic connection, and 'The Atlantic Club' has been spoken of as if there was or had been such an institution, but it never existed."¹ Mr. F. H. Underwood, in a letter to Dr. Holmes, took him to task for having somewhere spoken of the "Atlantic Club" as "supposititious," and certainly adduced evidence in support of his own position that there was for a while an actual club of that name; but the Doctor evidently thought that he knew as much as any one else did about the matter, and stuck to his colors very positively.²

¹ Life of Emerson, p. 221, where there is more on the same topic.

² I fear that the weight of evidence is against the accuracy of the Doctor's memory, in this matter.

Some outsiders furnished still another name for this much-entitled Club. They called it "The Mutual Admiration Society," and sometimes laughed a little, as though the designation were a trifle derogatory. Yet the brethren within the pale were nowise disturbed by this witticism. "If there was not," says Dr. Holmes, "a certain amount of 'mutual admiration' among some of those I have mentioned, it was a great pity, and implied a defect in the nature of men who were otherwise largely endowed." Possibly one or two of these gentlemen might have been criticised for admiring themselves, but it did seem hard to blame them for being sufficiently intelligent and generous to admire each other.

Outside the sacred *penetralia* which were shut within his own front-door, nothing else in Dr. Holmes's life gave him so much pleasure as did this Club. He loved it; he hugged the thought of it. When he was writing to Lowell and Motley in Europe, he seemed to think that merely to name "*The Club*" was enough to give a genial flavor to his page. He would tell who were present at the latest meeting, and where they sat. He would recur to those who used to come, and mention their habitual seats, — matters which his correspondents already knew perfectly well. But the names were sweet things in his mouth; and he seemed to feel sure that this mere recital would make his letter welcome, no matter how little else of news or interest it might contain. In the later days there came to be something pathetic about his attachment to that which still had existence and yet for him was almost all a memory. In 1883 he wrote, in a letter to Lowell: "I go to the Saturday Club quite regularly, but the company is more of ghosts than of flesh and blood for me. I carry a stranger there now and then, introduce him to the members who happen to be there, and then say: There at that end used to sit Agassiz, — here, at this end, Longfellow, — Emerson used to be there, and Lowell often next him; on such an occasion Hawthorne was with us, at another time Motley, and Sumner, and smaller constellations — *nebulae*, if you will, but luminous more or less in the provincial firmament." There are many passages in this same strain. In 1885, when all the old faces save two or three must have gone, he wrote, in his vein mingled of wit and pathos, to John M. Forbes: "I should like to see Tom Hughes at the Club; it is a long while

since I have met him. *You will come, and if nothing hinders I shall be there ; and, if tres faciunt collegium, duo faciunt clubbum.*"

Of course, the Autocrat did justice to his lordly title by founding a dynasty. He had not been long silent when the Professor succeeded him at the famous Breakfast-Table. Probably enough the Doctor, who was ever buoyant and sanguine, did not, in the bottom of his heart, feel much doubt that he was going to score another success ; but he began the new papers with a delightful sentence, which may be described as a sort of modest compliment to himself : " The question is whether there is anything left for me, the Professor, to suck out of creation, after my lively friend (the Autocrat) has had his straw in the bung-hole of the universe." This new-comer did not talk quite in the vein of his predecessor ; he chose more serious topics, he was much graver, and exacted closer attention from his hearers. There was a great deal of discussion about creeds and tenets which have been the subjects of religious controversy. Dr. Holmes said that he handled these matters " only incidentally." His readers will hardly agree with him, — they will think of the case of the tail wagging the dog. Of course the lively conversational style was retained, and the flashes of wit and humor were never far apart. By this means the Professor held many auditors who otherwise would have found him too serious. But his hand was ever light, sprightly, and varied in its touch, so that no one fagged under it. Because the Professor was less entertaining than the Autocrat, he has been, perhaps, a little less famous, and less widely popular ; yet, being more thoughtful and more profound, he has pleased some people better.

After the Professor became silent, eleven years elapsed before the landlady had another boarder whose talk was up to the printing standard. Then, in 1871, the Poet took the vacant chair. He was a very charming fellow, yet not quite so agreeable as his predecessors had been. When the Doctor undertook to compete with himself, he met a formidable rival. He was like the great race-horses who come to the pole, matched to beat their own best time ; he trotted gallantly, but his " record " was too much for him. If the " Autocrat " and the " Professor " had not been written, the " Poet " would have been esteemed a very brilliant piece of work, as in

fact it was; but they had been written, and in the way of comparison their new comrade brought just a trifle of disappointment.

No attentive reader of the Professor could fail to foresee what would be Dr. Holmes's next literary venture, for these papers held the skeleton of a story and some very well drawn characters. Accordingly, in due period, "Elsie Venner" was born, wearing at first the title of "The Professor's Story," but later taking her own name. The critics have dealt severely with this book. They admit that it abounds in brilliant passages, that it is generously impregnated with New Englandism, that local color was never shed upon paper more charmingly than in the description of the party at "the elegant residence of our distinguished fellow-citizen, Colonel Sprowle." But having said these things, some go on to say that the book has too much monologue by the author, and others object to the snake-element as displeasing. All agree that it has the fatal artistic defect of being a "novel with a purpose." It may be true that such a novel will rarely survive the disappearance of its purpose, by reason either of achievement or conclusive defeat. Certain it is, however, that whether Elsie Venner was or was not justly entitled to popularity, she enjoyed it, and for many years was widely read and eagerly discussed, nor is it yet time to be composing an epitaph for her tombstone.

Even the papers of the Autocrat had stirred the suspicions of the religious community, still very numerous and powerful at that time, which held the rigid tenets of the old New England Calvinism, and believed in the doctrines which had been taught by Jonathan Edwards. These people were disturbed and angry at the very keen and shining lance which the new-comer seemed to be setting in rest against them. Then came along the Professor, and stirred them up much more sharply, and they felt themselves called upon to denounce Dr. Holmes as an open assailant of Christianity. "Elsie Venner" was greatly worse still. It sought to show that inherited influences were often of absolutely determining force; therefore it seriously curtailed moral responsibility; and if it was founded in truth, it established that the commission of sins did not necessarily mean that the sinner was a criminal. For uttering such teachings, it was inevitable that Dr. Holmes

should be assailed by a large and influential body of opponents, with extreme bitterness. It is neither proper nor possible in such a memoir as this to go into so large a discussion, in which so much feeling might still be aroused. It may be assumed that his theories have been sufficiently disputed over, during the last quarter of a century, for every one to have reached his own conclusions concerning the questions involved; and doubtless it is also safe to say that the ranks of the Doctor's opponents have been greatly thinned in this conflict, and that desertions to his side have taken place in enormous numbers. I shall therefore content myself with quoting an interesting passage from a letter which the Doctor wrote to Mrs. Stowe, setting forth his purpose:—

“ You see exactly what I wish to do : to write a story with enough of interest in its characters and incidents to attract a certain amount of popular attention. Under cover of this to *stir* that mighty question of automatic agency in its relation to self-determination. To do this by means of a palpable outside agency, predetermining certain traits of character and certain apparently voluntary acts, such as the common judgment of mankind and the tribunals of law and theology have been in the habit of recognizing as sin and crime. Not exactly insanity, either general or partial, in its common sense, but rather an unconscious intuitive tendency, dating from a powerful antenatal influence, which modifies the whole organization. To make the subject of this influence interest the reader, to carry the animalizing of her nature just as far as can be done without rendering her repulsive, to redeem the character in some measure by humanizing traits, which struggle through the lower organic tendencies, to carry her on to her inevitable fate by the natural machinery of circumstance, grouping many human interests around her, which find their natural solution in the train of events involving her doom,—such is the idea of this story. It is conceived in the fear of God and in the love of man. Whether I am able to work out my delicate and difficult problem or not, is not of so much consequence. A man may fulfil the object of his existence by asking a question he cannot answer, and attempting a task he cannot achieve.”

After the public had mulled for half a dozen years over the stirring problems presented by Elsie Venner, Dr. Holmes gave them a new novel, “The Guardian Angel.” Properly viewed, this was a step forward, because “Elsie Venner” had based its problem on an abnormal, if not an impossible, instance,

and therefore had left open a back door, whereby one could sneak away from giving a decisive answer to the questions raised. But Myrtle Hazard's case was a simple one of heredity. In a literary way, too, the second book far surpassed the earlier. If it was less weird and picturesque, — or shall we say fantastic, — it was also far more artistic. Evidently "Elsie Venner" is going always to be regarded as Dr. Holmes's most "important canvas," to borrow the language of the painter fraternity; but "The Guardian Angel" is much better work. In its earlier half, every page sparkles with the gems of wisdom, wit, and humor; the reader is dazzled, and, however alert he may be, cannot look back without finding that he has missed something fine. As a picture of New England people at or shortly before the time when the book was written nothing could be more graphic, and the *mise en scène* was worthy of the men and women who moved in it. The rural town of Massachusetts in the middle third of this century is as well drawn as the country society of England was drawn in the fascinating novels of Jane Austen.

It was not until 1884–85 that Dr. Holmes gave to the world his third and last novel, "A Mortal Antipathy," of which mention may be made here, with propriety of topic though not of chronology. At the time of writing it he was far past the creative age, and the book showed the fact too plainly. The problem, too, though akin to that of the other novels, was, in comparison, weak and uninteresting. The Doctor was "young for his years," but too old to do any more work in fiction. He himself seems to have been aware in a measure, though not fully, of the difference between this and his previous work.

Dr. Holmes concerned himself little in public affairs. Conservative instincts, or rather tastes, struggled in him with intellectual opinions. Up to the time of the war he certainly was far from being an Abolitionist, and could not even be called an anti-slavery man in a proper sense of that term. But the war found him, or instantly made him, a strenuous Unionist, and quickly converted him into an advocate of emancipation. The three wounds of his distinguished son, Lieutenant-Colonel Holmes, doubtless strengthened, though they were by no means necessary to create, these sentiments.

He wrote some ringing war lyrics, full of spirit and fire; but they were a little too good to be appreciated by the average soldier, and therefore could not rival the more popular songs. In 1863 he delivered the Fourth of July oration, in Boston. It was an admirable address, showing a rare combination of qualities, some of which even his admirers might hardly have given him credit for. It deserves a longer existence than, perhaps, it will attain.

Amid all these occupations, which together made a busy and crowded life, the Doctor glided gently and imperceptibly down the stream of time, and reached old age in such good condition that he, and others too, might have failed to find out that he had done so, had not there come to him a reminder from a source altogether external. In December, 1879, the publishers of the "Atlantic" gave a stupendous banquet in his honor, and the excuse for it was that he had reached, in the preceding summer, the scriptural age of threescore years and ten. It is a time in the life of man which holds a peril that many dread more than death,—the peril of being old and not knowing it. Most carefully was the Doctor protecting himself against this; he was watching himself very closely, turning upon himself the full force of that marvellous power of observation with which he was gifted. He felt assured, and correctly so, that though seventy years might have slipped away since he was born, he was still in good working order. Therefore during three years more he continued his lectures at the Medical School, and then resigned because, as he said, he wished to give his remaining years to literary labor,—not, by any means, to repose. His friends were beginning to drop away from his side; but he refused to yield to depression, and remained buoyant, cheerful, and sanguine. In 1878 he was busy on a Memoir of John Lothrop Motley,—a touching and affectionate tribute to the brilliant gentleman whom he had very dearly loved. In 1884 he was very hard at work on the "Life of Emerson," which he contributed to the "American Men of Letters Series." This cost him much close and severe labor; it was not at all in his line, and it was a topic of great intrinsic difficulty. But the reading public found the volume very satisfactory, and it has had the seal of popularity set upon it.

Of the "Mortal Antipathy," published in 1885, mention has

already been made. In March, 1888, the Doctor began the series of papers which he happily christened "Over the Teacups." It would be idle to pretend that they are as good as the talk of "The Autocrat"; but they make very pleasant reading, with abundant infusion of the old-time wit, wisdom, and humor. Indeed, the display of these qualities, surviving in such freshness and luxuriance after eighty years of life, was an occurrence nearly, if not altogether, unprecedented in literature. The papers were really a magnificent *tour de force* by a spirited old man, unyielding, holding his own against the column of the hostile years. The Doctor had been not a little anxious as to the reception which would be accorded to his reappearance in the colloquial vein. He wrote to an English friend: "I don't suppose I can make my evening teacups as much of a success as my morning coffee cups were, but I have found an occupation, and my friends encourage me with the assurance that I am not yet in my second childhood." He had modestly "thought that he had something left to say," and he was gratified when he "found listeners." Although he had "cleared the eight-barred gate," and could not be far from the ultimate deadly goal, the gallant old gentleman said: "New sympathies, new sources of encouragement, if not of inspiration, have opened themselves before me, and cheated the least promising season of life of much that seemed to render it dreary and depressing." Of course the way in which the public and the critics took the book was most gratifying; but the Doctor spoke with shrewd, though gratified, modesty about "those wintry products of my freezing wits."

The most remarkable feature in these papers is the poem of "The Broomstick Train," so humorous in conception, so spirited and lilting in execution. It was a marvel as the production of a man upwards of eighty years of age. The old gentleman was pleased, and had reason to be, with the compliments which friends lavished upon these dashing stanzas, the wonderful outburst of an octogenarian muse. He wrote to Mr. Warner: "It made me feel young to write it, and I am glad you thought it had something of the elasticity of youth in it. An old tree can put forth a leaf as green as that of a young one, and looks at it with a pleasant sort of surprise, I suppose, as I do at my saucily juvenile production."

Dr. Holmes had lived in Boston, with the exception of

summer sojournings at Pittsfield and at Beverly Farms, ever since he came home from his medical studies in Paris, — an extraordinary record for a man of such activity of mind and variety of interests, and so exceptionally fitted to enjoy occasional visits to Europe. Now, in 1886, undaunted by the burden of years, he undertook, with his daughter, Mrs. Sargent, a trip abroad. He was away from home only four months, and was in England nearly all the time. It was a sort of triumphal progress; all England seemed zealous to do him honor, and it was wonderful that he was able to survive such excitement, such feasting, the meeting of so many strangers, and the necessity of constant mental exertion. Yet of course he enjoyed it, though it fatigued him. On his return he wrote "Our Hundred Days in Europe," — not in itself a noteworthy book, perhaps, but which should be taken, as it was intended, as a courteous recognition of the hospitalities of a nation of admirers. During his stay Cambridge University made him a Doctor of Letters, Edinburgh University made him Doctor of Laws, and Oxford University made him Doctor of Civil Law; in 1880 Harvard University had made him Doctor of Laws.

When at last the end came, it came gently and mercifully, perhaps also in good season. Neither body nor mind had broken down, though neither could have been expected to last much longer; his eyes had long been threatened by cataracts, but he could still see to write and read a little; his memory was only just beginning to fail him slightly and occasionally. Fortunately, before these ills became serious, the angel of death — really an angel in his case — glided stealthily into the house and took him away. He was out of doors, taking his usual walks, a few days before the end came; he was up and about the house actually to the last day, and he died in his chair, — painlessly, as so humane a man well deserved should be his fate, — on October 7, 1894. Two days later he was buried from King's Chapel.